Journal of Administration Overseas

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INCLUDING

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by G. Benneh

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BOOK REVIEWS
by Professor Paul Streeten, Dr. Robert Chambers, John White, Colin Fuller, Dr. H. W. West, J. T. A. Pearce, Dr. A. F. Robertson, J. M. Lee

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Editor's Notes

For nearly twenty years the Department of Administrative Services at Manchester University has been providing specially tailored courses in Public Administration for students from overseas. As the generalist has increasingly required knowledge of new techniques so as to meet the demands of 'development administration', so have the courses been adapted with emphasis placed on practical training to meet these needs. We are very glad to publish in the Number an account by Professor Livingstone, of how his Department now operates its programmes of administrative studies, and the problems involved in evaluating the effectiveness of the teaching provided.

The administrator in the field is the subject of Dr. Leitan's article. In Sri Lanka, surprisingly perhaps in a country where a radical political approach has dominated the post-independence political scene, Dr. Leitan describes how the Government Agent, old style administrator in new style "dress", bears the heat and burden of the day as co-ordinator and implementer-in-chief of government policies at District level. She sees a very real need for his position to be redefined in clear and unambiguous terms, particularly with regard to his relations with specialist government departments operating in the field and with the new political machinery with which he has to maintain close contact.

In our last number, Dr. Famoriyo called for major improvements in the system of customary land tenure in Nigeria, if the needs of modern agriculture were to be met. In sharp contrast, in this issue, Dr. Benneh writing on the situation in Ghana, concludes that the Ghanian system of communal land tenure is *not* an impediment to agricultural development. Drawing on the experience in Northern Ghana he argues that the small-scale traditional farmer can adopt new agricultural techniques successfully without need for mechanisation or the reform of the land tenure system. Where the environmental and social conditions are appropriate for small farming he sees no need for policies aimed at establishing large-scale farms, mechanical cultivation, readier commercial facilities for credit or the disposal of land holdings.

Finally, Kempe Hope describes the National Service Programme in Guyana with its objective of providing skills and attitudes for citizens from all walks of life so as to help achieve an integrated national understanding of the social and economic policies being pursued by the government.

Practical Work in Public Administration Study Programmes

By A. S. LIVINGSTONE

Professor Livingstone is Head of the Department of Administrative Studies at the University of Manchester.

Introduction

The present examination of this subject is within the context of Public Administration Study Programmes provided for senior Government officials from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Mediterranean, the Caribbean and the South Pacific. The practical work discussed is primarily the experience arranged for study fellows in the community, rather than in the classroom, although the two study situations are not really separable. In fact, much of this article will be concerned with the nature of the relationship between administrative theory and its validation (or otherwise) in the development of organisational structures and practices of both public and private institutions. Nevertheless there is sense in appraising directly the contribution of extra-classroom practical work arrangements to the study of public administration.

The treatment of the subject will be directed to enunciating the broad principles of practical work organisation only so far as working experience may support such generalised observations. The experience examined will be that of the Department of Administrative Studies in the University of Manchester over the past seventeen years, as the Department has sought to establish effective practical work arrangements in a variety of Public Administration Study Programmes.

The early organisation of practical work in the Department was extensive enough as a proportion of the total period of the study programme, but somewhat limited and unsophisticated compared with later arrangements. This early experience concentrated its attention on "information" programmes, offering study fellows an opportunity to acquire knowledge of the organisational structure and administrative practices of both public and private sector agencies. While the significance of these agency visits for the classroom teaching of organisational and administrative theory was not neglected, there was still a somewhat tenuous relationship between the knowledge acquired in agencies and what was taught in the classroom. In the mid-60's an attempt was made to bridge this gulf between the "taught" and the "experienced".

By 1965, the Department had been working long enough in association with a wide range of public and private agencies to be able to suggest a form of practical work experience that obviously would demand a greater degree of commitment by agency staff. This response, given so consistently over the last ten years, has made possible the many experiments in practical

work organisation undertaken by the Department in close consultation with attachment agencies.

The first departure from the early practical work arrangements described required a close tie-in of the Department's teaching programme with the planning and evaluation of agency attachment experiences. In this new method, teaching staff and study fellows of the Department prepared the design of an exploratory programme to test the relationship of their theoretical studies to observed practice. Five major aspects of organisational work were devised for the purpose of this exercise: role and structure of the organisation; organisation of work; finance; personnel; relations with the public.

For some time before the beginning of these agency visits, study fellows, first meeting in groups for whichever practical work placements they were assigned and regularly also in plenary sessions, prepared a list of crucial questions under each of the five headings, which questions or points of observation were to become the desiderata by which they proceeded in their discussions with agency staff who were acquainted with the nature of this preparation for the practical work experience. At the end of the agency visit study fellows returned in their seminars and plenary sessions to prepare a report on the results of their analyses of the theoretical and practical relationship as they had had opportunity to explore it. The final reports of each group were sent to the agencies offering the attachments. The whole exercise ended with a visit to each agency by staff and study fellows of the Department to discuss the reaction of the agency to the report. Except for reasons of confidentiality of the information given, and the wish not to embarrass unduly any agency staff member, the reports of study fellows were frank and vigorous in the criticisms given. Almost without exception this approach of the study fellows to the record of their practical work experience was respected by the agencies concerned. The final report, and the discussion of it in the agency, also at times helped to remove some genuine misunderstandings and erroneous statements from the study fellows' records. One important intention in this type of practical experience was to demonstrate the methodology of study necessary for a preliminary analysis of the requirements of administrative reform. Specifically, the exercise is to underline the importance of having as accurate and factual a record as possible of the objectives and functions of an organisation and the way work is organised to meet those objectives and functions. This may then be used as the basis for an analysis of an organisation, from which it is then possible to draw certain conclusions and make recommendations. The exercise will have achieved much if it succeeds in illustrating the critical importance of producing an accurate record, and the consequences of trying to make an analysis, draw conclusions and make recommendations without such an accurate record. The agencies used for these attachments have included regional offices of central government, nationalised industries, public companies (such as I.C.I.) and local authorities. Experience has shown that public companies and local authorities lend themselves to the kind of fieldwork much better than the nationalised industries or regional offices of central government, because the latter are much more directly controlled by the headquarters of the organisation in London and their work and the way it is carried out is largely determined by policy from headquarters.

In addition to the experience which study fellows gained from the study attachments in terms of the main stated objectives, there were other beneficial aspects which were not merely accidental These attachments for small groups of four or five study fellows are designed to provide, as near as is possible in the training situation, an experience of having to work closely with others whose views may differ markedly, and so produce a report which must take account of all shades of opinion represented in the group.

Finally, there was the exercise, on return to the Department when, having produced a report, each group had to present and defend it to a plenary session of the course. It is here that a group is often made aware, for the first time, that much of what they had previously considered factual and presented as such, is really opinion in disguise, and that what may have at first sight been seen as a fairly simple and straightforward exercise, is much more complex and strewn with pitfalls.

The type of organisational enquiry outlined above remains as one important element of study in the Department, but over the last decade the practical work programme has become more diversified and experimental. New study programmes, some of them highly specialised, have demanded fresh approaches to the provision of practical experience for a wide variety of study fellows. The description of these latest approaches is best given within the context of the study programmes where they are developing.

Public Administration Studies Programme[1]

In addition to the provision of a fieldwork programme of the kind outlined above, this study programme arranges a number of other practical experiences:

MICHAELMAS TERM: LONDON FIELDWORK.

The main objective here is to study the practice of some aspects of work which have been covered in the Michaelmas term classroom syllabus. At present, the three options available on the London fieldwork extend the studies in the Politics and Government syllabus (Parliamentary control and scrutiny) and the Administrative Theory and Practice syllabus (Personnel Administration in the Civil Service, and Planning – Policy and Implementation). Whilst the latter has some economic content at the macro level, the Department has not sufficient staff to offer options on the London fieldwork which cater specifically for the economic and social administration aspects of the Michaelmas term syllabus. But certainly all three options now offered are relevant to Michaelmas term studies even though the scope is limited. A description of one of these options will serve to indicate the purpose of the practical work programme in London.

Parliamentary control and scrutiny

The main aim of the fieldwork is to examine Parliament (concentrating on the House of Commons) as an institution for controlling and scrutinising

[1]Another study programme in the Department, The Diploma in Development Administration, includes practical work arrangements in organisational analysis, and London fieldwork experience, of the kind outlined in the Public Administration Studies Programme.

the executive. Prior to the visit, study fellows have spent a term dealing with aspects of government and politics. The course in Manchester concludes with a case study on Britain where the main institutions and processes within the political system are discussed. This case study, together with reading, provides briefing for the London fieldwork. Study fellows, therefore, have an overview of the British system making the exercise in London more productive. By focusing on the question of Parliamentary control and scrutiny, the study fellows can obtain some insight into a working system and are in a position to contrast the views of parliamentarians, civil servants, political leaders, etc., with the lectures and text books. Speakers are drawn from Government departments, Parliament, press, political parties, Exchequer and Audit Department, etc.

The subject areas covered are: effect on the structure and functions of the British Civil Service of Parliamentary control and scrutiny; realities of financial control in the British system; influence of the individual M.P.; role of the House of Commons committee system; party organisation in the House of Commons and the party subject committees; role of the press in the process of control and scrutiny.

LENT TERM: OPTIONAL SUBJECT ATTACHMENT.

Attachments are provided which offer study fellows an opportunity to appraise in greater depth some aspects of their optional studies. Such fieldwork has been organised in Cumbria for rural development studies, and through an attachment to the North West Gas Board, to study personnel management. Other optional studies do not immediately present themselves as obvious choices for such treatment, but attention is being given to further analyses of this kind such as: public policy appraisal; the role of training in development; the definition of public administration, etc.

A brief description of the Cumbrian exercise may help to illustrate the practical work element in optional studies.

Study visit to Cumbria

The first objective of the visit is to enable study fellows who have followed the optional course in Rural Development to acquaint themselves with the major problems and issues concerning the development of the rural areas of the County of Cumbria.

Study fellows will have the opportunity to examine the policies which are being pursued by a variety of agencies (central government, local authority, voluntary bodies) to promote the development of the county. In discussions with the County Council and the National Park Planning Board, particular attention will be given to the procedures which are followed in the preparation of the structure plan.

Specific policies which will be examined are those relating to forestry, tourism, the development of small industry and agriculture. Representatives of interested bodies and those directly affected by the policies will be interviewed.

In the agricultural sector, study fellows will visit two agricultural co-operatives, one large and one small. The purpose of these meetings will be to examine the role of these co-operatives in the development of farming enterprises and to study major aspects of their organisation and management. A visit has also been arranged to the Cumbria School of Agriculture and Forestry to look at the part played by training institutions in rural development.

Two of the major problems in rural areas generally are transportation and the provision of services. Meetings and visits have been arranged to enable study fellows to discuss issues related to the provision of social and education services to remote rural areas, and examine the County's policy for highways and transportation.

West Cumbria is the location of one of the Community Development Projects financed by the Home Office. The aim of the visit to the Cumbria C.D.P. is to enable members of the group to talk to the Project Director and team about the successes and difficulties of using the community development approach to local planning.

LENT TERM: MAJOR OPTION.

In this term, study fellows may choose an option which is directed almost entirely to a work experience within an agency. The first of such option experiences has been planned with the co-operation of the Housing Department of the Greater Manchester Council, other departments of the Council, and voluntary social agencies, and involves a study of the Council's housing policy and consumer reaction to it[2].

The objective of a programme of this kind is to provide an experience to the study fellows of collecting and handling data and, through a process of analysing, drawing conclusions from this date on which recommendations can be made on an issue of public interest. Neither the problem to be tackled nor the programme of work is pre-structured. Study fellows on the programme can only move forward at their own pace, and their experience includes all the difficulties of handling incomplete or inadequate data, which is typical of the working situation.

The work of this option involves many discussions with local officials, and library research. It could be extended to include more involvement within an organisation, or in the collection of original data. The tools of analysis used are thrown up by the study itself. In this particular option experience the main tool used is a statistical regression analysis, but situations could be found for a broader experience where a variety of analytical tools was necessary.

SUMMER TERM: NATIONAL OR REGIONAL FIELDWORK.

The main intention of fieldwork in the summer term – whether to Greece,

[2]"A study of some of the effects of the housing policy in the City of Manchester, 1966/1974, as it has influenced the supply of and the demand for household accommodation with projections to 1980"—Authors: S. Chakravarthy, J. C. Lynn, R. L. Spencer—Study Fellows, Department of Administrative Studies, University of Manchester.

Cyprus, Ireland or Scotland – is to present a situation in which the study fellows can see the inter-relationship of a number of different areas of study. Thus, the fieldwork in Ireland has been organised to illustrate some ways in which culture, history, the physical environment, the people, central and local government and other institutions are responsible in a variety of combinations for producing a community and its way of life. This may sound more ambitious than is intended. It is possible to achieve just so much in a two-week fieldwork visit, but the hope is that the study fellows will obtain an awareness of the significance and relative importance of the diffierent factors mentioned above in producing an environment within which the processes and institutions of development have to operate and the ways in which these processes and institutions are themselves influenced by these same factors.

In addition to the two weeks fieldwork in Ireland (and Scotland or the Mediterranean for the other group), the study fellows will have extensive preparation before they go, and during the three weeks which follow the fieldwork they will participate in development games based on those parts of the regions which they will have studied and visited. The main objective of the development games is for study fellows to use their fieldwork experience, together with a whole range of statistical data which will have been prepared in the Department, to analyse the situation, indicate priority areas of concern and then recommend policies for development based on that analysis.

Methodology of Public Administration Training

This course of one academic session length is designed for senior teachers and administrators in public administration training centres overseas and for overseas government officials concerned with public administration training policy.

The course field studies are intended to provide appropriate facilities in government departments, training organisations and other centres outside the University, for observation, analysis and discussion of selected areas of public administration and training methodology. Practical work programmes will vary during the course, some being appraisal and survey studies of a range of training activities, others being more limited but offering greater scope for specific study. Programmes offered by agencies may include organisational procedures, courses and materials design, evaluation techniques, training methods, the selection, training and management of training staff, and observations on courses/components currently being provided.

In the MPAT course itself course members undertake comprehensive studies and activities in training theory and practice and in the role of training in administrative planning and organisation. Field studies are intended therefore for observation and discussion of selected areas of training and training administration developed in the agency rather than for members to undergo additional courses. For example, some members may be sent to an organisation where role-playing forms a significant part of training. It is not expected, nor is it appropriate, that the programme offered by the agency should include a study of role-playing; instead the opportunity

afforded should be taken to study the use and impact of this medium of learning in specific training programmes and situations. Again, where course members are attached to government departments or industrial organisations, it is expected that situations provided will emphasise experience of training systems, methods, procedures and assessment of training needs rather than organisation patterns and staff structures of the organisation.

There are three field study periods, one in each term. Appropriate areas for field studies are as follows: policy formulation and the assessment of management training needs; selection procedures for trainees; course design, construction and organisation in administration and management areas; training of trainers; procedures and techniques in training research; case studies, management games, simulation exercises, action mazes, logical trees; application of programmed learning in training; use of correspondence education in training; sensitivity training; organisation patterns linking management and training staff; training records and communications; design of training centres; budgeting for training; establishment and organisation of procedures and training systems at central, departmental and local levels; course evaluation data and procedures; measurement of learning and training performance; systems approach to training; design of training components, exercises and materials in administration and management courses; use of specialist training methods such as video-tape and closed-circuit television for behavioural studies.

Programme in Special Aspects of Public Administration

This is a twelve week programme designed to provide participants with experience in defined areas within the field of public administration through a combination of activities and studies in the University, and planned and supervised study attachments and visits to relevant organisations in Britain. Individual programmes are prepared where necessary. Arising out of experience with programmes in a wide range of areas, specialised courses have been developed, at present in the areas of university administration, public finance, and the management of public enterprise, all in the context of the developing countries, and sharing the same general pattern of group activities in the University and group and individual visits and study attachments. Participants are senior government officials, with post-graduate qualifications, who have attended training courses at home and usually have substantial overseas experience including participation in training programmes abroad.

All the programmes are practical work based, and wherever possible classroom work is problem orientated and related to the experiences of participants, or designed to provide the background for subsequent visits and study attachments. Study fellows are asked to produce a report at the end of the visit, to reflect the areas they have been studying, and these reports often contain valuable comments on British experience. There are three major themes in the practical work:

(a) to expose participants to current thinking and experience in Britain in areas relevant to their responsibilities;

(b) to provide a frame of reference to use in group discussions of current

administrative problems with other course participants and British administrators;

(c) to enable participants to acquire or up-date a specific administrative skill by observation and ideally by active participation in a working situation.

During their period in Britain participants visit a wide range of institutions in Central and local government, in industry, and in other non-government organisations. It has only been possible to arrange for active participation in a relevant working situation on a few occasions for a period greater than one to two days, but there is no doubt that this is an extremely effective teaching method. Future plans include the development of individual programmes which would involve a joint research programme with an agency along the lines of the similar but longer programme being developed as part of the options in the Department's PASP programme.

In recent programmes, an alternative approach has been attempted when participants with an unusually good grasp of English and understanding of their own requirements and the workings of the British system of public administration, have devoted the entire twelve week period to an individual programme of research into the British approach to a particular area, through visits to universities and research institutions, government and private agencies, etc. The areas investigated have included manpower planning, output budgeting, the appraisal of organisational performance, the management of research and development, consultancy arrangements and the practical training arrangements for graduate engineers. The programme is developed through consultation between the participant, the staff of the University and new contracts arising out of visits, and in these cases the final report represents an attempt to explore in considerable depth British experience and thinking in the selected area.

These individual programmes make considerable demands on the individual and the Department; and in recent course assessments some participants have considered that they gained more insights from visits and attachments in small groups with a greater element of preparation and supervision. One of the advantages of the present arrangement is the flexibility it provides for experiment and diversity of approach. The attitude of the participant is a critical factor. Different individuals obtain varying degrees of quality of experience from the same exposure, and no amount of preparation or supervision can ensure that a disinterested or awkward study fellow obtains value from a study attachment.

Problems and limitations of practical work arrangements

There are many hazards associated with the planning and implementation of practical work programmes. Five are of particular gravity.

(1) Many teachers and administrators directly concerned with Public Administration studies and Public Administration training programmes hold serious reservations about the educational value of practical work provisions. They do not see practical work as a crucial methodological device or as providing a depth of experience justifying the time and effort required to

organise it. There is considerable justification for such misgivings. To raise practical experience for students above the coach tour level requires lengthy and painstaking preparation, both in the training centre and in the public or private agencies associated with the practical work programme. This in turn demands skilled and varied personnel resources in study centre and community agency alike. With the richest endowment conceivable of staff resources, practical work will always operate within severe limitations. Without some such staff resources, students' practical experience will be, inevitably, a superficial exercise that does not warrant the claims made for it, or the time spent on it.

(2) A persistent problem in the arrangement of practical work is the training department's lack of control over what actually happens in the placement centre or regional study area during the period of practical experience. This remains so even when an enormous amount of time may have been spent in preparing, implementing and evaluating practical work programmes in close collaboration with the community agencies concerned. This is the fault of no-one in particular. For the agencies providing practical work studies for overseas administrators in Britain, there is no direct professional "tie-in" of the students they accept for placement: the study fellows attached to such agencies are temporary visitors, have no continuing relationships with the agency's work, and offer no promise of future staff recruitment. Planning for such practical work in a government or non-statutory agency has to rely on a continuing fund of goodwill, and must accept the limits of a collaborative exercise that can never be given top priority in the agency's work programme, however interested and responsible may be the attitudes of staff to providing field attachments.

New approaches to practical work experience, described earlier in this article, are sure to bring changes in the degree of control exercisable by the training body. When practical work is no longer primarily dependent on goodwill response by agencies, but carries some vital interest for their own work, the training centre can establish a quite different relationship with the attachment centres. Most future practical work arrangements should be designed to fulfil such mutual objectives for study centres and placement agencies.

(3) The Student's responses to practical work opportunities are variable. For many, practical work is an unfamiliar experience, demanding a meticulous attention they are not prepared to give. Some see it as a break from classroom work. Language difficulties frequently constitute barriers to the Student's proper understanding of new concepts and new experiences. Those who are willing and capable of serious application to practical work-learning situations, reap rich rewards in an enlarged comprehension of the way in which administrative planning and administrative processes are directed to the fulfilment of organisational objectives.

(4) The last sentence emphasised the importance of the analytical approach to the study of organisations and their administrative support systems. But analysis is a long way from the development of insights about desirable administrative behaviour. How do we achieve the reach-across from definition

and delineation to convictions about the content and style of required administrative change? Can practical work experience take us far along this road? The answers to these two questions may as yet be uncertain, but there are indications that close collaborative work between academic centres and community agencies may demonstrate the nature of administrative capabilities in a way that is instructive for both the agency and the teaching department. Yet the impediments to the development of such understanding are grave indeed. Despite the wealth of published research and attendant writings in the field of development studies, we are still struggling to understand what are crucial factors that retard the development programme of low income countries. Do we know the extent to which governments can or wish to bring about development? How far can practical work help to enlighten us on such simple questions?

Are such questions as these assuming too ambitious a role for practical work in Public Administration study programmes? The answer depends on how one sees the function of Public Administration study programmes in preparing future government officials for senior decision-making responsibilities. The public administrator and the public administration system he serves, requires not only technological knowledge and technical skills, but just as importantly, the development of the art of judgement. Public Administration study programmes must direct his attention to the political, economic and cultural context which will both assist and limit his opportunities for administrative leadership. Organised practical work experience may further the understanding of environmental forces that determine the extent to which administrative theories can find expression in the work-a-day world.

Overseas government officials studying in Britain are involved in practical work situations geographically remote and culturally disparate from the later circumstances at home where their knowledge and skills will be needed. More than another journal article would be necessary to argue the sense or nonsense of bringing students so far to something so different. Many such educational programmes in Britain have shown that despite the historical and cultural overlay there are a host of identical common problems that concern the administrator and the public service organisation in both affluent and low income societies. Planned practical work for the overseas student is an important experience for the foreigner who wishes to explore, in another setting than his own national environment, the mutual challenge of administrative theory and administrative practice in a day-to-day organisational setting.

(5) One final consideration. There has been no systematic evaluation of the extent to which practical work experiences in Public Administration study programmes provide the values that this article claims for them. We do not know with any degree of exactness whether the time and energy spent in practical work arrangements produces more effective results than the same time and energy spent on other kinds of study provisions. We cannot know for sure that the students' practical work experience in Britain make discernable differences to their work performances later at home. Considerable current effort is being directed to establishing methods of evaluation that will help us assess the extent to which our overall study facilities for mature

overseas students provide an acceptable experience for both them and their countries. Within this framework of evaluation, important attention must be given to the educational value of organised practical work.

The Department of Administrative Studies began its work in 1958 with a decided view about the value of practical work experience in Public Administration study programmes. From its own subsequent evaluations of this experience and from the responses of its study fellows to such a study provision, the Department has been encouraged to strengthen and diversify the practical work programmes. Within the limits imposed by cultural differences and shortage of facilities, the Department is convinced that practical work programmes have provided an invaluable touchstone for testing the relationship of received theory to the realities of work-a-day life for administrators and managers in public and private sector organisations. The Department hopes to extend much further its experiments in identifying the appropriate kinds of practical work experience for members of Public Administration study programmes.

The Role of the Government Agent in Sri Lanka

By G. R. T. LEITAN

Dr. Leitan is a lecturer in the Department of Economics, University of Sri Lanka.

Introduction

It is no easy task to define the present role of the Government Agent in Sri Lanka, his functions being nowhere codified or set down with precision and very often there is a seeming contradiction between the theory of his office and the practice. For he is within the Ministry of Home Affairs – yet the agent of practically every department; legally, he may have no authority over some departmental heads – yet most departments hold him "generally responsible" for their work in the district; law and order are the functions of the police – yet in emergency situations he has to take the initiative in organising security measures; local authorities are not directly subordinate to him – yet he must needs obtain their co-operation; he is no longer the exclusive general representative of the State – but on him fall most ceremonial functions in his area; specialists of technical departments tend to resent his authority as a generalist – yet he is cast in the role of over-all co-ordinator in his district; there are separate departments dealing with what are termed "development functions" – but today he is expected to be general agent for development.

His position is thus complex in the extreme. By tradition and implication, if not in legal fact, he is still *de facto* the *principal* representative of the Government – and this fact has assisted him in the fulfilment of his new role.

Indeed his role today is not much different from that of the District Officer in most other developing states which have emerged from Colonialism. For in most of these, although his authority is challenged by specialist and other departmental agencies, by political representatives and by local authorities, yet a variety of responsibilities still falls on him. Thus Haridwar Rai's description of the District Officer's role in India could, quite easily, have been written of the G.A. in Ceylon, too, that . . . he is, above all, Government's agent and representative in the field, its general information man and also area co-ordinator of its countless activities. He is Government's handy-man embodying the undemarcated residuum of Governmental authority. He is the convenient point of reference for the Government, the people and Governmental agencies operating in the field. In his office comes into focus the problem of interactions between area and function and that of the relations between functional specialists and generalist administrators.[1]

[1] Rai, Haridwar. The District Officer in India, today. *Journal of Administration Overseas*. Vol. 6, No. 1, Jan. 1967, p. 13.

Historical Development

Sri Lanka (Ceylon) was constituted a Crown Colony of Britain in 1802, under a Governor answerable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies of the British Parliament. A strong superstructure of provincial administration was established over the system already in existence; for the British, like the Portuguese and the Dutch[2] before them, made use of the administrative system of Chiefs and Headmen Mudaliyars which was indigenous to the country. By 1833, the entire country was divided into five provinces under Government Agents, subdivided into Districts under Assistant Government Agents.

Technically, the Government Agent (or Collector) was a Revenue Officer[3], but with the increase of governmental functions he became Government's general agent in the field. Instructions to Collectors by Governor Maitland (1805-1811) signify broadly the functions he was expected to perform:

"The first great object for every Collector is to make himself acquainted with the various districts in the province, and the various Headmen belonging to such Districts, by making frequent circuits through the whole of his Province, and it is upon such occasions in particular that the judicial power attached to the Collector ought principally to be made use of. Possessing then, on the one hand, the ready means of settling all the petty disputes in the different villages of his District without moving the inhabitants to a distant court, and on the other, the means of supplying them with seed, grain, clothing and agricultural tools, and as far as may be, relieving them from the vexation of the tax gatherer by letting to the cultivators themselves the tithes of their villages, the Government has a right to expect that such circuits of the Collector must be and will be attended with the happiest consequences to the District over which he presides"[4].

Leonard Woolf, in his "Diaries in Ceylon 1908-11" conveys a fair idea of the multifarious duties which fell on the Government Agents by the beginning of the 20th century: e.g.

1st Sept., 1908	"Inspected town with Sanitary Inspector".
10th Sept., 1908	"Inspection of Hambantota hospital".
13th Sept.	"Rode out with the *Mudaliyar* in the early morning along with Kirama Oya to inquire into the question of the Tangalla fields."
23rd Oct., 1908	"Went to see the chain of bridges across the paddy fields, beginning of the road to Gonadeniya . . ."
27th Oct.	"Inspected Walasmulla school . . ."
23rd, 25th, 26th Nov., 1908	"Investigation of murder at Tissa . . ."[5]

[2]Portuguese rule in Sri Lanka 1505-1636; Dutch rule 1638-1796.
[3]Even today, departmental circulars refer to him sometimes as "Revenue Officer".
[4]*Instructions to Heads of Departments*, 1808. Mendis, G. C. (ed.). *Colebrooke Cameron Papers*. (Oxford University Press 1956), p. 267.
[5]Woolf, Leonard. *Diaries in Ceylon* 1908-11. (Hogarth Press Ltd. 1963). The Collectors were required to keep Diaries giving a detailed account of their circuits, which had to be forwarded to Colombo.

Thus the Government Agent (G.A.) initially entrusted with law and order functions, gradually became more or less a "jack of all trades", performing a combination of legislative, executive and judicial duties. It is no exaggeration to say that the Government Agents became the network through which the British Colonial Government consolidated and maintained its authority over the whole country.

Parallel to the development of the provincial superstructure is also to be seen from the early years of British rule, the emergence in embryonic form, of deconcentrated government departments. These sometimes adopted the organisational units of the provincial organisation; the tendency was, however, for each head office to exercise more and more control so that the relationship between the G.A. and the field heads of departments (especially the technical ones) tended to become rather blurred[6].

The ancient system of Local Government – the *Gamsabhawa* system – had, due to a number of reasons, fallen into disuse. An attempt was made to revive rural local government in the second half of the nineeteth century; and by the end of the century, a new system (based more or less on the British model) was introduced in the more urbanised areas. These local units were placed under the tutelage of the G.A. who presided over the Municipalities while officials of his provincial staff were chairmen of the others.

The Donoughmore Reforms of 1931 introduced an Executive Committee System of Government in which "Ministers" or Chairmen of Executive Committees (into which the legislature was divided) though collectively responsible for the budget, were vested with individual responsibility for the departments under them. Functional separatism following these reforms, and subsequently, Cabinet Government in 1946, eroded much of the G.A's. authority. From being the official vested with exclusive responsibility for all governmental work in the Province, he became an official of one Ministry, the Ministry of Home Affairs; and his magisterial duties went to the Ministry of Justice, law and order to the Police, local government, to a separate Department of Local Government (with the G.A. and his staff no longer being members of local authorities) and so on.

Thus in common with developments in most colonial territories, the position of the G.A. altered from that of the Prefect in the integrated prefectoral model to that of the unintegrated one with his authority challenged by other departmental heads working alongside.

Since Independence in 1947, the factor which has made the most impact on the district administration has been the consciously felt need for rapid economic development. Paradoxically, the assumption of increased responsibility by Government relieved the G.A. of a certain amount of work; for with the creation of new Departments (especially those connected with

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[6]See Kannangara, P. D. *History of the Ceylon Civil Service* 1802-1833 (Tissa Prakasakayo, Ceylon 1966), p. 52. Collins, Sir Charles. *Ceylon: The Imperial Heritage.* in Braibanti, R. and Spengler, J. J. (eds.). *Asian Bureaucratic systems emergent from British Imperialist Tradition* (Duke University Press, Durham N.C. 1966), pp. 456, 457.

development) and the increasing work load on existing ones, individual departmental field structures took over from the G.A. some of the functions he had been wont to perform for the departments. In other ways his responsibilities increased, however, since these branches or units in the field (most of which were located at his office) were placed under the G.A. who, being the man on the spot, was given a "general responsibility" for their operations.

His functions were affected in yet another way – he now became the focal point in village development. A new programme of Rural Development was launched in 1948 under a separate Department of Rural Development within the Ministry of Home Affairs. Although the new department detailed its staff to the field, it was the G.A. (like the District Officer in India in relation to Community Development) who was entrusted with general responsibility for rural development in his district.

Although the movement itself has waned in importance it nevertheless marked the change of emphasis in the role of the G.A. From being the once unquestioned authority in the district whose power was being gradually eroded by departmental field agencies, he received revitalisation as Government's agent for development.

It is with the Rural Development Movement that the beginnings of general co-ordinating machinery are also to be seen in the form of consultative Committees both at district and divisional levels (the former under the chairmanship of the G.A.). These were the forerunners of the District and Divisional Co-ordinating Committees (D.C.C's) which, as a result of the Huxham Committee's[7] recommendations, became the chief co-ordinating machinery for over two decades.

At present a G.A. heads each of the 22 Districts into which Sri Lanka is divided with (generally) an additional G.A., an Assistant Government Agent and other office staff to assist him. His field staff consists of Divisional Revenue Officers[8] (D.R.Os.) and Grama Sevakas (village level officials) in charge of (respectively) the *Divisions* and *Grama Sevaka divisions* into which the District is divided.

Sri Lanka's Government Agents are heads of Departments – the *Kachcheris* – which come under the Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs. As departmental head, however, his functions for this Ministry are comparatively few, like licencing, administration of the Festivals Ordinance, the Pawnbrokers' Ordinance, administration of rest-houses, etc. Even in relation to these, although licencing of firearms is for the Home Ministry, licencing of public bars etc. is for the Department of Excise, of explosives for the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs, of vehicles for the Commissioner of Motor Traffic, etc. What has transpired here is that most Home Ministry functions have been eaten into by other departments and consequently the G.A. acts more as "Agent" of other departments than of the Home Ministry.

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[7]Report of the Committee on the Organisation, Staffing and operative methods of Government Departments. (*Sessional Paper 5 of* 1948).

[8]With greater decentralisation of functions to the Divisions some of them are now headed by Assistant Government Agents.

Of great importance among his functions for the Home Ministry, however, is what is loosely termed "District Administration" – which again is not easily defined. It is a general responsibility for promoting peace, security and the well-being of the district. Rapid action in emergency situations – riots, civil commotion, drought, floods, earth-slips, epidemics – is entrusted to him. This is what S. S. Khera refers to as the "Executive function of the State" in relation to the Collectors of India, that " . . . in case of turmoil or commotion or of dire need arising otherwise, it becomes the duty of someone or other, some agency acting on behalf of the people, to see that things do not get out of hand and that order is restored"[9].

Sometimes he may not have the legal authority – yet instant action becomes necessary. For instance faced with the threat of a petrol shortage, he can instruct the petrol dealers to withhold stocks and they will obey; he can commandeer firearms in times of insurgency (although the gazette notification authorising him to do so may come only later); he can call on people's co-operation to lend bowsers for water distribution in drought, to help finance civic receptions and be sure of the response. As one G.A. put it, that is the "magic attached to the post of G.A." – that if he has the energy and the will, he still can be the Representative of Government in the district.

In this role of "general representative" he can familiarise himself with the needs, the short-comings, and the potentialities of his district. Here, too, he faces challenge, for the local M.P. has to a large extent taken over the political role of reporting the needs of the area directly to various departments and even at Cabinet level. Even so, he is not entirely devoid of his role as "eyes and ears" of the district. As the man on the spot who is responsible for the welfare of the district, he can bring the saner counsels of administrative practicability to bear on the electoral fervour of M.P.s bent on nursing their constituencies, balancing the claims of different areas in the district. He it is who has a field staff of Divisional Revenue Officers and *Grama-Sevakas* – not the M.P. – so that he can act as general information man and statistician to the Government in relation to his district. The M.P. can voice the general need – but it is the G.A. who will be called upon to supply the detailed information on which policy can be framed. For instance, it was the G.A., Matara who, acting on instructions, conducted a detailed survey which revealed that 730 fishermen's families were without land and without adequate housing. At the G.A.'s Conference on Fisheries (23, 24 August 1971) the G.A. Batticaloa, brought up the problem of de-salination of the lagoon. As the "man of the area" he was able to point out different facets of the problem – that, while ways had to be found of re-salinating it since otherwise fisheries would be affected adversely, the problem of keeping the sand bar open related also to the Department of Irrigation; and moreover, that there was also pollution of the lagoon due to industrial waste products being emptied into it – which were matters for the Department of Industries and the Department of Health Services.

He is also the "residuary legatee" of governmental authority in his area,

[9]Khera, S. S. District Administration in India. (*Asia Publishing House, London*), pp. 54, 55.

since functions not specifically assigned to any Ministry automatically fall upon him. He is expected to form a judgement as to which department should take action and he has to try to have this task officially assigned; but in the meantime it remains his responsibility.

In Sri Lanka, as in India, very often new governmental policies look almost automatically to the G.A. for the supply of information, implementation and co-ordination. For instance, in 1953, in relation to schemes for increasing the earning capacity of villagers, the G.A.s were called upon to furnish information about the areas in their districts which required immediate attention; and the co-ordination of the activities of the different departments pertaining to this policy was cast on the G.A.

So also with the accent on Food Production (1965-70) it was the G.A. who was given special responsibility for policy implementation, with the additional G.A.s (first appointed 1963) relieving him of routine functions. At present, development functions are his special responsibility.

Relationship with Government Departments

The importance of counteracting separatist tendencies of departments is obvious; and in the final analysis, the chief function of the G.A. today is co-ordination of all governmental activity in the district. Even what has been referred to as his "executive function" is, in effect a co-ordinating one, for it involves – as Government's general representative in the district – the task of organising concerted action whenever the need arises.

The focal point of the District in Sri Lanka is the *Kachcheri* – the Office of the Government Agent. For paradoxically, despite the tendency of Departments to break away from the G.A. and rely on their own field structures, any Ministry or Department is authorised to make use of the G.A.; and practically every department operating in the field acts in association with him – but in varying degrees.

In their relationship with the G.A. it is possible to categorise the Departments into three groups:

(i) *Group A.* To this category could be assigned those departments which operate "through" the G.A., making use of the accounting services and (more often than not) the clerical staff of the *Kachcheri* and are located within the *Kachcheri*, e.g. Departments of Social Services, Rural Development, Small Industries, Elections, Census and Statistics, those of the Food Commissioner, Land Commissioner, Commissioner of Motor Traffic, Registrar General, etc. These exercise functions which traditionally had been the preserve of the G.A., but which, with the increase of state activity had been placed under separate departments. A compromise situation exists today; the parent departments function through "branches" at the *Kachcheri*, appointing "Staff Officers" at district level (very often with their own clerical and field staff), but the G.A. is held "generally responsible" for their functioning, and communications by and to their respective Head Offices are expected to be channelled through him.

The association of the G.A. with this group of departments is the result, to a certain extent, of legal powers vested in him. For instance, the adminis-

tration of Crown land is vested in the G.A. according to the terms of the Crown lands ordinance; alienation of land for purposes such as colonisation, village expansion, etc., is expressly his responsibility under the Land Development Ordinance; he is the licencing authority under a number of ordinances like the Excise Ordinance, the Explosives Act, etc., and the Acquiring Officer under the Land Acquisition Act; he is the Commissioner of Census under the Census Ordinance and the District Registrar under the Births and Deaths Registration Act, and so on.

Others in this group have appointed the G.A. as their agent at district level, e.g. he has been appointed Election Officer by the Department of Elections, Deputy Motor Traffic Commissioner by the Motor Commissioner's Department, Deputy Food Controller by the Food Commissioner's Department, etc.

The utilisation of the G.A's "services" is also governed by the fact that he is already an "expert" in certain subjects, notably land administration, since this has been one of his traditional functions.

(ii) *Group B.* This group contains the "Development Departments" in the field of agriculture, viz. Agriculture, Agrarian Services, Marketing and Co-operative Development.

The G.A. was required by means of the District Agricultural Committee (established in each district under the Irrigation Ordinance of 1946) to co-ordinate all agricultural work. This was no easy task, since the tendency was especially for new departments) to establish independent field structures. For instance, food production, which hitherto had been administered through the G.A.s was taken over in 1959 by the field units of the Department of Agrarian Services created in 1957.

Co-ordinated action in agriculture was, however, felt to be necessary. In 1963, a re-allocation of departments brought into existence the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Co-operatives, consisting of the Departments of Agriculture, Agrarian Services, Co-operative Development and Marketing. At district level to combat the tendency of individual departments to work in isolation, the G.A. was accorded an official standing in relation to all Departments within the Ministry, being appointed Deputy Director Agriculture, Deputy Commissioner Agrarian Services, Deputy Commissioner Marketing and Deputy Commissioner Co-operative Development.

These departments then, which tended to act independently of the G.A. (and to a large extent of each other) were brought into association with him once again to ensure co-ordinated functioning of all agricultural activity in the district. In this connection he was entrusted with a special responsibility viz. the preparation of the District Implementation Programme. The district heads of departments are required to send in their programmes and priorities to the *Kachcheri*; these are discussed (and decisions taken) at the District Agricultural Committee which meets quarterly under the chairmanship of the G.A.

The Department of Fisheries, too, in 1971, has appointed the G.A.s of the 12 coastal districts as Deputy Directors, Fisheries. This illustrates how a

department which earlier had hardly any contact with the G.A. has been led – due to the need for co-ordination in development activities – to turn to the G.A.

(iii) *Group C.* The third group consists of departments like Education, Health, Inland Revenue, Excise, Police, Irrigation, Local Government, the Territorial Civil Engineering Organisation (T.C.E.O.), etc., which show a strong tendency to dissociate themselves from the G.A. Thus in the district of Kalutara for instance, these departments have branch offices situated away from the *Kachcheri*; their accounts are not maintained at the *Kachcheri*, and they maintain separate accounting systems and bank-accounts; their responsibility is directly to their respective Head Offices, and not through the G.A. These are mostly "closed" departments, their officers being generally recruited departmentally.

The departments in this category are mostly the "specialist" departments which, not unnaturally, are jealous of their independence from "generalist" control. A few, however, like Police and Local Government, though of a generalist character, fall into this group. The reasons for this anomaly are difficult to find. It can be conjectured, however, that political factors – e.g. the desire of the Minister in charge (especially in relation to local government) to break away from the district administration – could have been a contributory factor.

The association of Government Departments with the G.A.'s district administration in Sri Lanka poses two questions; one is why in spite of the introduction of elective local government, departments continue to utilise the *Kachcheri*. An obvious answer to this question seems to be the weakness of local government. Indeed the Home Ministry, in its evidence to the Choksy Commission in 1955[10] gave this factor as the reason for the revitalisation of the Government Agent and there has been no radical reorganisation of local government since then.

The other question is why they rely on the District Administration of the G.A. instead of working exclusively through departmental field agencies. In most political systems, one could expect to find a mixture of prefectoral and functional systems of organisation, resulting from mixed political and administrative objectives. For instance in Italy, the pull of functional ministries situated in Rome cut into the co-ordinating authority of the Prefect; so also in Sweden; while the Governor of each region is held responsible for promoting its interests, officials like the Housing Director, Agricultural Director, etc., stationed in the region are responsible directly to national administrative departments[11].

In Sri Lanka, too, political and administrative considerations, very often pulling in opposite directions, could be said to have contributed to the vertical organisation of functional Ministries, which nevertheless retain (and sometimes bring back) the authority of the G.A. Thus administrative considerations of economy and the necessity for local knowledge in the administration of their policies have motivated departments like Social

[10]Report of the Commission on Local Government. *Sessional paper* 33 *of* 1955.
[11]See Smith, B. C. Field Administration. (*Routledge and Kegan Paul*, 1967), p. 79.

Services to continue working through the G.A. The *Kachcheri*, after all, is already there with its hierarchical organisation down to the village level; and the expense which could be avoided by applying to his field staff for supply of information, etc., is not to be minimised in economically weak countries burdened with high administrative costs.

Another factor which contributes towards the utilisation of the G.A. is that his position, standing and influence can be harnessed for the successful implementation of departmental policies, for the G.A. of Sri Lanka, with a tradition of over 150 years behind him, of being the representative of the State and spokesman of its policies, has a prestige and authority which even today, are considerable.

Despite these factors, however, the pull of functional agencies to direct their own affairs from headquarters is quite strong. Here the question also revolves round the type of functions handled by different departments. Where work is of a relatively generalist nature – e.g. poor law administration, colonisation, assignment of grants for rural development or social services – a generalist administrator could handle them at district level, with officers from the parent department to "assist" him. The more technical departments, however, will find an area generalist inadequate for the administration of their policies, and thus prefer their own departmental field services. Looked at from this angle, the degree of association with the G.A. can well be the result of the degree of specialisation involved in the work of different departments.

What is of most consequence is the need – in the absence of any other co-ordinating agency in the district – for a co-ordinator. Consequently departments turn inevitably to the G.A., with the conflict between the opposing tendencies (outlined above) getting resolved in the varying relationships which departments adopt toward the G.A.

Machinery of Co-ordination

The question may well be asked, however, whether the G.A. of Sri Lanka is sufficiently well equipped to do justice to the role which historical circumstances and the exigencies of the present day have cast on him. For of the three possible approaches to a real co-ordination, viz.:

a. Prefectoral,
b. Executive Committees, and
c. Inter-departmental Committees,

Sri Lanka seems to be placing reliance on the last. But as A. H. Hanson points out, this is the typically British system and "can hardly be adopted by countries with different constitutional traditions and different development problems"[12].

The District Agricultural Committee and the District Co-ordinating Committee (which were established under the Chairmanship of the G.A.) are the major institutionalised machinery for horizontal co-ordination. The D.A.C. consists of the district level officers of all the departments involved

[12]Hanson, A. H. Planning & the Politicians. (*Routledge and Kegan Paul*, 1969), p. 111.

in food production; in addition, the district heads of the departments of Local Government and Rural Development (since their work is related to agriculture), Education (since schools participate in the drive for food production), Census and Statistics (which supply agricultural data), all Members of Parliament in the district, Divisional Revenue Officers (who are the G.A.'s field staff at divisional level), and an *ex-officio* representative from each of the principal crop producers in the district are also included.

The District (and Divisional) Co-ordinating Committees (established in 1953) are the general co-ordinating machinery, consisting of representatives of all departments (exclusive of the Judiciary and public corporations operating in the district), the Divisional Revenue Officers, all M.P.s in the district and representatives from the local authorities in the district.

Vertical departmentalism however places a limitation on the efficacy of such bodies and makes them assume very much the complexion of Parliaments which ratify decisions reached elsewhere, i e. in the Head Offices of individual departments. For although the G.A. has been appointed Deputy Commissioner/Deputy Director by most departments, the tendency (even in those departments which operate through the G.A.) is for district level departmental staff to be more conscious of their line responsibility to departmental headquarters. His difficulties are enhanced, since, as in other countries, he has to contend with the natural resentment of specialist field officers against control (in whatever form or degree) by an area generalist.

Divisional Development Councils

In 1971 Divisional Development Councils (D.D.C.s), consisting of divisional level officials of the "development" departments as well as representatives of Local Authorities and other popular bodies such as Cultivation Committees, Rural Development Societies, etc., presided over by the Divisional Revenue Officer (D.R.O.) have been established under the aegis of the Ministry of Planning & Employment[13]. These bodies are assigned the task of deciding on development projects within the division which are to be implemented by co-operative societies. In view of the inadequacies of the D.A.C. and the D.C.C. as co-ordinating devices, district level Development Councils (under the chairmanship of the G.A.) were also envisaged under the scheme, to replace both the D.A.C. and the D.C.C. They were to function through four sub-committees, each comprising the work pertaining to a group of government departments. These district level co-ordinating agencies, however, have not materialised.

District Political Authority

As from October 1973, a new system has been introduced: the District Political Authority. A senior member, sometimes a Deputy Minister, of the National State Assembly[14] has been appointed as Political Authority for each

[13]This now consists of two Ministries: the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Plan Implementation.

[14]According to Sri Lanka's new Constitution (1972) the Central Legislature consists of a single chamber, the National State Assembly.

district. This system was designed mainly to expedite the Food Production Programme of the Government which is at present receiving the highest priority. Simultaneously, provision has been made – within the estimates of the Ministry of Planning & Economic Affairs – for a "decentralised budget" on a district basis, to be used exclusively for development work of a local nature at distribution level. The priorities within this programme are to be decided by the Political Authority, and the necessary expenditure is to be charged to the "decentralised budget" without reference to departmental headquarters, as was the procedure earlier.

As the machinery for deciding on agricultural priorities in the district, the Political Authority will, presumably, absorb some at least of the functions of the District Agricultural Committee, especially of the official sub-committee of that body which, under the chairmanship of the G.A., hitherto decided (in effect) on a co-ordinated programme of food production for the district. It could also be inferred that the system (depending on its successful working) is to be extended in due course to other spheres.

The position of the Government Agent within the new system will, it can be surmised, be affected in two important respects. Firstly, although the Political Authority is to be the decision-making body in a defined area of activity, the G.A. will still be responsible for the execution and co-ordination of this work. His relationship with the Political Authority therefore assumes immense importance for effective implementation of the programmes relating to Food Production and Local Development projects; while the motivating force behind this innovation was not the strengthening of the G.A. specifically, it will, undoubtedly, improve his position *vis-a-vis* the departments which are associated in development. For decisions pertaining to activities within the "decentralised budget" will now be made not in Departmental Headquarters, but at the level of the District.

It is yet too early to analyse its working and effectiveness. The new machinery has, perhaps, merely institutionalised what took place in practice; for with the increasing power and authority of the M.P. in Sri Lanka, the G.A. would doubtless have acted in consultation with the M.Ps. (especially Ministers and Deputy Ministers in his district).

Conclusion

It is arguable that, at least in the foreseeable future, Sri Lanka must needs depend on the G.A. who by force of tradition, personality and bureaucratic seniority, receives recognition as Government's representative and can therefore (even under the new system of Political Authority) be vested with executive responsibility in the district. It is the generalist G.A. who, with his experience and administrative expertise can play a co-ordinating role, supplying the generalist's co-ordinating and practical viewpoint as against the specialisms of departmental officers.

What seems to be called for is a removal of the ambiguities attending his position and a re-defining of his relationship with Government Departments functioning in the district as well as with the new political machinery, so as to enable him to act effectively as administrative co-ordinator especially in that area of work that is denoted by the word "Development".

Communal Land Tenure and the Problem of Transforming Traditional Agriculture in Ghana

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IN the search for the right formula to get agriculture moving in Ghana, there has been much discussion on the negative role played by the country's communal system of land tenure[1]. Charter's remark "to attempt to fit modern agriculture into traditional customs is impossible. To the technical worker it often seems that the efforts of others have been directed in this connection more to the preservation of anthropological fossils than the development of a modern agricultural economy"[2] seems to be a typical reaction of development agents who use the tenure system in Western Europe as a yardstick for evaluating tenure systems elsewhere.

Discussions on the need to modify or replace communal tenure have also been clouded by the failure on the part of some writers to realise that a system of land tenure is a sub-system or a component of an agricultural system, and since all the components of an agricultural system are inter-dependent, a mere change of any of them is not likely to lead to an increased efficiency in production unless the substitute is in harmonious working relationships with the other components. It is in this respect that the need for and the contents of a land reform programme must be discussed with special reference to an identified agricultural system. As one writer has put it, "Those of us working in land reform have been repeatedly asking the question, has land reform increased agricultural production? We are not able to provide answers. Why this state of affairs? It is because people have discussed land reform in the social and political context rather than in terms of economics. Hence literature on land reform is full of emotion"[3].

Although the present Ghana Government, like its predecessors, has given encouragement to large-scale farming, the bulk of the country's agricultural

[1]The term is restricted in this paper to the tenure system under which individuals have the right to use land, but ownership is vested in a group. Some authorities have questioned the appropriateness of the term communal to describe this type of tenure which is dominant in Tropical Africa. According to Elias (1962, p. 64) corporate would be an apter term.

[2]Charter, F. F. *Estate Agriculture and the Integration of Peasant Farming, Ghana Soil and Land Use Survey*, Miscellaneous Paper No. 1, 1954, Kumasi (mimeo). Doreen Warinner on the other hand has pertinently questioned the relevance of arguments for modern agrarian reform being based on European land systems some 200 years ago (*Land Reform in Principle and Practice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969, p. 33).

[3]Shah, S. M. (1971) in *Land Tenure Institutions* (Ed. Blaze, M. G.).

production is in the hands of small-scale traditional farmers, and efforts at increasing agricultural production have therefore largely been aimed at the traditional sector. While there are many reasons for the lack of success of past agricultural programmes, it will be argued in this paper that the emphasis being placed on land reform as a *sine qua non* for improving traditional agriculture in Ghana is misplaced because in this author's view communal tenure is not an impediment to improving agriculture. Furthermore, there is evidence in Ghana and elsewhere to suggest that a communal system is not static and rigid but dynamic. It is in a continuous process of change in response to changing patterns of land use and farming techniques[4].

Components of the traditional agricultural system

Although there are different traditional systems of agriculture in Ghana, by far the most important is the bush fallow system[5]. It is also the dominent system of farming in Ghana, and communal tenure is a constituent component.

Under the communal tenure system, ownership of land is vested in a land-owning group but individual members hold definitely ascertainable rights within the comprehensive holding of the group. The system makes it possible for every adult person to cultivate any part of the group's land which has not already been claimed by another member of the group. The individual who first clears a patch of land and cultivates it establishes for himself the possessory right in the use of the land and the improvements which his labour has effected.

In order to establish a lifetime interest over a tract of land, the individual has to farm in the same area more or less continuously. This does not mean cultivating the same piece of land every season, a practice which is impossible under the bush fallow system, but if he leaves his fallow land for such a length of time that all traces of his former use of the land are obliterated, then another cultivator from the group can claim it[6]. As an informant once told Rattray, "If the original cultivator or his heir wished to recover a plot which he had once cultivated, he could only do so provided he was able to point out some trees – kola, plantain, palm-oil – which he had once cultivated and which still grew and bore fruit. These were sufficient to establish his claim to the use of the land"[7].

Once an individual establishes his right in a piece of land, no one, not even the head of his group, can farm on the land without his permission. His rights are by custom inherited in much the same way as birth-right

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[4]Uchendu, V. C. "The Impact of Changing Agricultural Technology on African Land Tenure," *Journal of Developing Areas*, July, 1970.

[5]Many writers do not distinguish between shifting cultivation and the bush fallow system, but the latter is an improvement over the former. Unlike shifting cultivation which is characterised by movement of homes and farms in search of fertile soils when those cultivated have become exhausted, under the bush fallow system the area under cultivation rotates through a fixed area of farmland. Shifting cultivation is no longer practised in Ghana.

[6]Although the notion that under the communal system farmland is redistributed at the start of each farming season by the land-owning group dies hard, the practice, if it exists at all, has not been encountered by research workers in Ghana.

[7]Rattray, R. S. *Ashanti Law and Constitution*, Oxford, 1929.

claims. Land acquired by an individual cannot be alienated by him through sale without the consent of all the members of the land-owning group. He may, however, pledge the use of it in order to redeem a debt. There are thus subtle inter-relationships between the group and individual interests in agricultural land.

A free grant of land is normally made to a "stranger" – a person who does not belong to the land-owning group[8] – by the head of the group with the consent of all interested parties. Before such a grant is made, the stranger would normally have stayed with a family who belonged to the group for a long enough period to have created a good impression as to his behaviour. The tract of land which is given to him is to enable him to produce food to feed himself and his household. He continues to enjoy the right to use the piece of land as long as his conduct is satisfactory to the members of the land-owning group.

The other components of the bush fallow system include maintenance of soil fertility by natural fallow, dependence on muscle power, use of dibble stick, machete and hoe for cultivation, mixed cropping, cultivation of food crops mainly for consumption by the production unit and storage facilities – which are generally poor. Unlike other systems of agriculture, the bush fallow system is based on the exploitation of natural fertility rather than on investment in manure or fertilizers.

The various components of the system are inter-related. The size of holding which is small (the median size of holding in Ghana is 3.6 acres) is largely explained by the drudgery involved in clearing virgin or fallow vegetation with a machete, and by the general lack of incentive to produce more food than is necessary to meet the requirements of the consumption unit and their social obligations. The technique of restoring fertility by natural fallow, makes it necessary for a farmer to have some land in reserve for cultivation when he temporarily abandons his exhausted fields. His holdings are, however, scattered because, depending as he does on the innate fertility of the soil, he has learned to pick and choose through trial and error, the most suitable soils for the crops he grows. He identifies these by their colour or with the help of indicator plants[9]. Nearly one-half of the holdings between four and ten acres in size are made up of three or more farms in Ghana (Table 1).

Transforming the Bush Fallow System

Although the bush fallow system has enabled the use of land to continue for centuries in Ghana without impairing soils, and has for long sufficed to maintain a delicate equilibrium between food supply and population, it is becoming inefficient as a result of the increasing pressure of population

[8]The size of a land-owning group varies from one area to another depending on the traditional political organisation, and who the original settlers in an area were. It could be a family, a clan, a village or a traditional state (Benneh, G., *Land Tenure and Land Reform in Ghana*, FAO Special Committee on Agrarian Reform Background paper, 1970, Legon, pp. 1-32.

[9]Benneh, G. "The Attitudes of the Kusasi Farmer of the Upper Region of Ghana to his Physical Environment," *Research Review*, Institute of African Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1970, pp. 87-100.

on land which prevents farmers from putting their exhausted soils under fallow for sufficiently long periods for them to regain their fertility. Land shortage has been accentuated by the demand of cash tree cropping, especially cocoa, coffee, and oil palm cultivation. As the length of fallow decreases, yields of cultivated crops decline and the much-favoured staple food crops such as cocoyam and plantain in the forest region are replaced by cassava which among the other things in its favour, is more tolerant in its soil requirements[10].

TABLE 1

Size of holding by Number of Farms in Holding

Administrative Region	Holdings under 4 acres			Holdings 4–10 acres			Holdings over 10 acres		
	0-2	3-5	6+	0-2	3-5	6+	0-2	3-5	6+
	Separate Farming Units per Holding (Percentages)								
Western ..	79	21	—	58	39	3	35	52	13
Central ..	76	23	1	39	56	5	18	56	26
Eastern ..	71	27	2	36	56	8	11	56	33
Volta ..	67	31	2	24	57	19	18	37	45
Ashanti ..	68	30	2	43	53	4	24	55	21
B/Ahafo ..	79	21	–	68	27	5	36	41	23
Northern ..	99	1	–	92	8	–	72	28	–
Upper ..	76	23	1	65	34	1	67	32	1
TOTAL Ghana	74	25	1	53	41	6	34	47	19

Source: *Report on Ghana Sample Census of Agriculture* 1970, Vol. 1, Ministry of Agriculture, Accra, March 1971, p. 49.

Attempts at transforming the system have aimed at substituting new components for those deemed responsible for its inefficiency. Thus, in an effort to increase the size of holdings, the hoe and machete are being replaced by imported agricultural machinery – tractors and ploughs – muscle power by mechanical power, fertilizers and manure are being applied to exhausted soils to transform the fallow system to a permanent system of cultivation, and the use of high-yielding seed varieties is being encouraged. The success of the modernisation attempt depends on such factors as the effectiveness of extension services, the willingness of farmers to adopt new methods of cultivation, the availability of capital for the purchase of the necessary inputs which must be readily available and the provision of marketing facilities for the sale of surplus production.

[10]Agboola, S. A. "Some Aspects of Crop Competition on the Agricultural Landscape of South Western Nigeria," a paper read at the Commonwealth West African Regional Conference, Accra, September, 1970.

It has also been suggested that modernisation calls for changes in communal tenure. The often quoted reasons on which this last assertion is based may be summarised as follows: the old system does not provide security of tenure; it discourages improvement of natural resources; it does not encourage investment as individuals have no incentives[11]; the small size of farms, and the manner in which they are scattered in an area through fragmentation, constitute an obstacle to farm improvement; it tends to discourage the inflow of innovation and individual initiative in farming[12]; it prevents agricultural land from being used as collateral.

The extent of the rights enjoyed by a member of a land-owning group does not support some of the above observations on the communal land tenure system. He enjoys security of tenure since he holds in perpetuity any land he lawfully claims for himself. The system does not deny him the incentive he needs to improve his land because it is based on a principle which guarantees him the right to enjoy the fruits of his labour, and to pass on any improvements he makes to his heirs in the same way as any other property he acquires. As already explained, he can pledge his farm for money.

The argument that security of tenure would enable the farmer to use his plot of land as collateral has been made on the tacit assumption that a commercial bank or a money lender would accept undeveloped land in an isolated rural district as a collateral. This can hardly be true because of the low economic value of agricultural land. Indeed, it is not the apparent lack of security of tenure which prevents financial institutions from accepting land as collateral, but the absence of a vigorous market in many parts of Ghana which will enable them to sell the undeveloped land of those borrowers who fail to pay back their loans. Financial institutions and private money lenders have long accepted cocoa farms or plots of land in large urban centres as collateral because they always could dispose of them on an open market. As the experience in the Nyeri District of Kenya where farmers possess freehold title shows "The original hope that the commercial banks would become an even larger source of credit for African farmers has not, by and large, been realised.

We do not mean to suggest that land consolidation and registration have not facilitated the extension of credit. They have made it easier to determine the assets of the borrower, and in particular, to assess his capacity as a farmer. The possibility of getting a mortgage has not, however, significantly enhanced the security of a loan."[13]

Fragmentation of holdings, one of the often quoted defects of communal land tenure, is not a peculiarity of the system. According to a UN report, "The splitting up of a farm holding into numerous different plots scattered over a wide area is a feature of the field layout in countries at all levels of economic development. It is not associated with any particular form of land

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[11]FAO, *Progress in Land Reform, Fifth Report*, UN, New York, 1970.
[12]Quraishy, B. B. "Land Tenure and Economic Development in Ghana," *Presence Africaine, No.* 77, 1971. Paris, pp. 24-35.
[13]De Wilde, J. C., *et al, Experiences with Agricultural Development in Tropical Africa*, Vol. I and II. Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1967.

tenure. It may be seen in countries as highly developed as Switzerland, France and Southern Germany"[14].

The two aspects of fragmentation which are often raised in connection with agricultural development in Tropical Africa generally are the small size of fields and the dispersion of individual farmers' fields. As Grigg summed up, "The small farm is less efficient than the large farm; if a policy of farm amalgamation were pursued in Africa and Asia, it would be possible to obtain economies of scale, and productivity would rise; profit margins on each farm would be larger, producing a source of capital both for further investment in agriculture and for industrial development. The farmers and labourers displaced by amalgamation would provide the labour for growing industries."[15] The record of failures of large scale farming schemes in Ghana and other tropical African countries does not support this unqualified faith in larger farm units.

In cautioning against generalisations about "the large farm" or "the small farm" as abstract areas unrelated to the conditions in a country, Warriner points out that, "the optimum size, i.e. the size which maximises output per man, is a variable dependent on several factors: the density of farm population expressed in the man: land ratio, the type of land use, determined on the one hand by the type of soil and on the other by the market; method of production, determined by the supply of capital and the level of technology. These conditions vary as between countries, and some of them change in the process of development."[16]

Much more, the economic advantages that large farms have over small ones appear to have been overstressed in the past as borne out by results of recent studies. Making reference to seven different studies, concludes that the evidence from various parts of the world, supports the hypothesis that productivity per unit area of land on small farms is as great or greater than on large farms. Indeed, given intensive tillage, as it is in the case of shallot cultivation in south-eastern Ghana, and the unavailability of other and more lucrative forms of employment, there is a strong case for the continuation of a small field under the communal tenure system, because it provides security for many[17].

Those who have argued for consolidated large farms have done so in the context of agricultural mechanisation. There is evidence to suggest that it is economically wasteful to use ploughs and tractors on small scattered fields. This is not surprising since they have been designed for larger farms in the temperate areas – indeed the high cost of ploughing small scattered fields forced the mechanisation Unit of the Ministry of Agriculture in Ghana to decide in 1967 not to accept fields of less than five acres for ploughing.

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[14]UN, *Land Reform: Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development*, New York, 1951.

[15]Grigg, D. *The Harsh Lands*, Macmillan, London, 1970.

[16]Warriner, D. *Land Reform in Principle and Practice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969.

[17]Dorner, P. *The Influence of Land Tenure Institutions on the Economic Development of Agriculture in Less Developed Countries*, Land Tenure Center Paper No. 55, University of Wisconsin, 1968, and "Land Tenure Institutions", Chap. 2 in *Institutions in Agricultural Development* (Ed. M. G. Blare), Iowa State University Press, 1971.

Perhaps, it is not so much the evils of fragmentation which are holding back progress in mechanisation as the wrong approach to the problem. As Johnston has pointed out, "There is a common need for strategies that emphasise borrowing modern but appropriate technologies from advanced countries – appropriate in the sense of being consistent with small-scale farm units and labour-complementing rather than labour-substituting".[18] He supports the view that the "Meji technology" that was evolved in Japan "was a combination of indigenous know-how and very selective borrowing from the West".

It is partly a reaction to earlier unsuccessful attempts by the government of Tanzania, for example, to mechanise field operations with imported tractors and ploughs that led to the new policy of mechanisation expressed in the following words of President Nyerere: "Instead of aiming at large farms using tractors and other modern equipment and employing agricultural labourers, we should be aiming at having ox ploughs all over the country. The hoe will have to be eliminated by the ox plough before the latter can be eliminated by the tractor."[19]

The experience in northern Ghana where mixed farming was introduced in the nineteen thirties, shows that communal tenure does not hinder the adoption of an improved system of cultivation by peasant farmers if the right type of agricultural technology is introduced.[20] Furthermore, a case study carried out by the writer has shown that it is possible for a small-scale farmer to produce enough food on a half to one acre plot, using an ox plough, to feed his household and to have a small surplus to sell on the market.[21] This experience is not an exception to the general rule as far as the resilience and flexibility of communal tenure system in Ghana is concerned. Indeed, in cases where new systems of farming have been introduced or developed which do not constitute a complete break with existing traditional farming practices, the communal tenure system has shown a remarkable capacity to be adaptable.

Conclusion

The subject of land reform is assuming great significance in discussions on agricultural development of tropical Africa. There has, however, been a tendency for land tenure experts to argue for or against communal land tenure system without reference to any particular system of farming. This is unfortunate because a land tenure system is a component of an agricultural system. Agricultural development in Tropical Africa may take different forms: improved small-scale traditional agriculture or large-scale mechanised farms operated by the state or by individual entrepreneurs. Depending on the

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[18] Johnston, B. F. "Agriculture and Economic Development in Ghana: The Relevance of Japan's Experience," *The Economic Bulletin of Ghana*, Vol. XI, No. 4, 1967, pp. 34-40.

[19] Nyerere, J. K. *Ujaama: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford University Press, 1968.

[20] Benneh, G. "The Response of Farmers in Northern Ghana to the Introduction of Mixed Farming: A Case Study". *Geografiska Annaler*, Stockholm, Vol. 54b, 1972, pp. 95-103.

[21] Benneh, G. "Systems of agriculture in Tropical Africa", Economic Geography, Worcester, Vol. 48, No. 3, July, 1972, pp. 244-257.

physical and socio-economic milieu in a country or the ideology of a Government, either of these systems of farming or their combination may be developed. Without reference to any system of farming, the question of whether communal land tenure system restricts or retards agricultural development cannot be adequately answered. As it has been argued in this paper, communal land tenure in Ghana is not an impediment to agricultural development based on improving the traditional bush fallow system.

Guyana's National Service Programme

By KEMPE R. HOPE

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Why National Service?

National Service in Guyana has been initiated for the following reasons[1]:

(a) To ensure that all Guyanese within the formal training system are made aware of the new values of an independent society, and understand the relationship between the new society and themselves.

(b) To provide in appropriate cases additional training, especially in the development of skills relevant to the national development plan, and corrective of results of an education system formerly designed to produce a "colonial man".

(c) To put emphasis on the practical approach in training and to provide the opportunity for on-the-job training.

(d) To accelerate the process of additional training through National Service itself and also through existing institutions and new centres.

Generally, National Service is expected to prepare citizens to utilise their energies profitably and productively, equipping them both with the knowledge and experience for opening up, developing and living on the rich lands available in the hinterland. It is part of the process which has already begun, that of creating awareness in the society, and will provide an opportunity for all people, from whatever background they may come, to get to know each other in the course of training together, in work and in sport.

Through National Service the Government intends to provide Guyanese citizens with both the skills and attitudes needed to contribute positively to the economic, social, cultural and political revolution that has already been embarked upon. It is, therefore, intended to be the Government's principal instrument to ensure the emergence and the development of the type of Guyanese essential to the prosperity, furtherance, and survival of the Nation.

Administration of National Service

The administration of the National Service programme will be the direct responsibility of the Prime Minister or such other Minister designated by him. There will be a National Service Board incorporated by Act of Paliament with the Prime Minister as Chairman, and comprising other Ministers and persons nominated by him. The Board will formulate policy at the National

[1]See Government of Guyana, *Sessional Paper* 3 (Georgetown, Guyana: Government Printers, December, 1973), p. 4.

level for the Service, and give policy directions to a National Service Secretariat which will function under a Director-General.

National Service will comprise a series of units catering for people in the following categories.

(a) Guyanese within the education system.
(b) Guyanese who have had all the available formal training appropriate to their ability and aptitude, whether employed or not.
(c) Guyanese who have not been exposed to as much formal education as was available and appropriate to their ability and aptitude, whether employed or not.
(d) Guyanese as at (c) who would like to go to a university or other institution of further training, including those who have already completed University entrance requirements.
(e) Guyanese who are in prison or otherwise in detention in accordance with the law.

The National Service training plan will provide exercises in co-operatives, farming, industrial skills, crafts, culture, pioneering, and para-militarism and will be organised in two divisions.

The first division will comprise all the various field units, and will be administered by a National Service Officer. This division will be made up of the following units:

(a) The Young Brigade
(b) National Cadets
(c) New Opportunity Corps
(d) Pioneer Corps
(e) Special Service Corps

The second division will be serviced by the Secretariat, and will also be headed by a National Service Officer. This division will be responsible, *inter alia*, for planning the logistics of the National Service Operation, for recruitment and for the preparation of settlement schemes. It will also ensure, that the National Service complements the activities of existing agencies and of new agencies set up to advance the development thrust, and the availability of all necessary inputs into the education of National Service.

In the recruitment of the 600 pioneers currently enrolled as participants in the National Service Programme[2], consideration was given to applicants at all educational levels. There were those who had minimum schooling and there were those who had enjoyed a greater amount of education and training. The criteria used in the selection of candidates, however, was based on the personal interest shown on the part of the applicant and care was taken to select representatives from all groups in the community. Applicants who had some skill in mechanics, for example, were selected. People who had had some exposure to agriculture, or who had special trade skills. Even applicants who possessed abilities in the commercial field were selected from about 5,000 applications received. The current sites of the Programme Centres are at Kimbia, about 80 miles in on the Berbice River, and Papaya Creek in the North West District.

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[2]GUYGRAM 40 (October 4, 1974).

The financing of National Service will be through funds already allocated under the current Development Plan 1972-1976 for current and capital expenditures. No firm data is currently available on expenditure for the Programme; the majority of the Government's expenditure so far has been for infrastructural facilities such as dormitories, infirmaries, roads, and electricity.

Permanent members of the National Service staff receive salaries. Those persons already employed and who volunteer for the Programme will continue to receive their salaries if they are Public Servants. In other cases, the participants will receive a subsistence allowance, so that their family expenses can be met. Self-employed persons who volunteer will also receive a subsistence allowance while unable to pursue their own jobs. Volunteers, apart from being fed, clothed and housed like other participants, will receive a fixed allowance.

An Assessment of the National Service Programme

National Service has been organised in Guyana as a further promotion of the philosophy of meaningful participation by the people in and for the development of their country. As seen from the foregoing description, it relates to, and encompasses people from all backgrounds to receive training and work together to achieve national goals. The major emphasis is being placed on agriculture which is the base of the economy. National service in certain respects is comparable with the frontier "go west" spirit of Nineteenth-Century development in the United States, since it calls upon the people of Guyana to seek out new areas, primarily in the hinterland, and to develop them so as to create new centres of economic activity.

The National Service concept and approach seems to be well founded and might well have been emphasised sooner. The impact of such a measure would have been very advantageous to the economy of Guyana had it been conceived and introduced at the same time as co-operativism* was accepted as the vehicle for Guyana's development.

One outstanding feature of the National Service programme is the extent and nature of training it hopes to provide. Any meaningful training programme of this magnitude would definitely imply that a certain calibre of manpower would be required to implement it. As is well-known, there is a great shortage of high-level manpower in Guyana. This, therefore, means that significant attempts would have to be made by the Government to recruit the relevant skills existent in the country, and also Guyanese with the relevant skills, who are residing abroad.

Given the scope of National Service, and that it is successful in operation, there should be a reduction in the number of dependents in the population. Persons who were otherwise destined to become dependent on others, whether by design or by circumstances, would now have an opportunity to obtain some form of training and become meaningful participants in the development process, while at the same time achieving self-reliance.

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*See "*Some Administrative Problems of the Co-operative Republic in Guyana*", by Harold A. Lutchman, JAO, Vol. X, No. 11 (Ed.).

The ultimate result, therefore, would be a reduction in unemployment. Some critics have argued that, for all practical purposes, National Service should have been limited only to the unemployed. But their arguments are faulty in many respects.

National Service could not be called National Service if it were limited only to the unemployed. It would have to be called "Unemployment Service". This, of course, would be misleading. If National Service were limited only to the unemployed, then there would be no need for the type of organisational and administrative machinery which the Government has put together within the scope and objectives of the programme.

Guyana is not the only country which has initiated National Service as a philosophy and working concept. Several other countries do have such a system, though it may exist under a different name.

Tanzania, for example, has what is called a "Policy of Self-Reliance".[3] This policy, as reflected in the Arusha Declaration, is similar to Guyana's National Service to the extent that it calls for the training and working together of individuals in the interest of each other and the nation as a whole, to bring about self-reliance. The policy stresses the importance of agriculture which is, as in Guyana, the base of the economy; the need for the people to be educated; and the urgency of good leadership. The ultimate aim of the self-reliance policy is to feed, clothe and house the Nation.[4] In Guyana, National Service is also expected to contribute to the drive to feed, clothe and house the Nation[5].

One intrinsic advantage to be derived from National Service is the further promotion of a national ideology. It would help to relieve some of the pressures of national aspirations and of the urgency of social and economic reform, existing in Guyana, pressures resulting from past decades of discontent and the desire for change.

In the promotion of National Service, the role of the leadership is clearly most important. It is for the leadership to produce the dogma, faith and imperative action necessary to achieve the aims that have been set up. The leadership must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities. National Service should therefore be instituted from the highest level of personnel to the lowest and not from the lowest level of personnel to the highest.

To ensure successful leadership and competent management of the newly-created Institution of National Service, obviously places great responsibility on the nation's political leaders. In speaking of the vital importance of leadership here, we are alluding to the critical place of authority in national development. If leaders are to inspire a population and to direct a society to higher levels of performance and development, their words and actions must carry an aura of legitimacy[6].

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[3]See Julius K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (East Africa: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 13-37.
[4]*Ibid.*, p. 33.
[5]Government of Guyana, *Sessional Paper* 3, p. 5.
[6]Gerald A. Heeger, *The Politics of Underdevelopment* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974), p. 134.

Basically, National Service is an institution being created for further social change and development in Guyana. The crux of the National Service programme hinges upon popular participation and popular involvement, with the end product intended to be change and development. Participation of the people in the administration and implementation of National Service refers to the active and willing participation of citizens in its development and success. Such participation requires that the people should not only share in the distribution of the benefits of National Service, be they material benefits or other benefits considered enhancing to the quality of life, but that they should share also in the task of creating these benefits.

National Service comes to the fore as, what is regarded in development administration theory, a nation-building institution. Development administration is a carrier of innovating values. As the term is commonly used, it embraces the array of new functions assumed by developing countries embarking on the path of modernisation and change[7], and so does the concept of National Service.

Though political independence is today rather easily achieved, there exists a new type of phenomenon which places economic constraints on the ability of poor countries to control their resources, and which promotes a distorted socio-economic pattern in Third World Countries. This phenomenon is described and usually referred to as the external dependency phenomenon. By external dependency is meant a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The concept of dependence can therefore be understood in terms of an incorporation of the structure of the "centre" into that of the underdeveloped "peripheral" states.

Consequently, after political independence, there still continues the struggle for achievement of a full economic independence. National Service seeks to promote the doctrine of economic independence. It seeks to mobilise, to the fullest extent, the human resources of Guyana so that they can help in the promotion of the concept of economic independence.

The significance and intent of National Service, one cannot deny, are very meaningful to the development process in Guyana, as they have been set forth. However, the actual socio-economic impact of the programme can only be gauged in the future when there is much firmer data on which cost-benefit analyses can be made.

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[7]Merle Fainsod, "The Structure of Development Administration", in Irving Swerdlow (ed.). *Development Administration: Concepts and Problems* (Syracuse) Syracuse University Press, 1973), p. 2.

Quarterly Notes

BRITAIN – *Highlands Seminar*

A joint venture by the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Ministry of Overseas Development resulted in a highly successful one week seminar being held at Plockton in Wester Ross during July 1975. There were 25 participants – all study fellows in receipt of United Kingdom Technical Assistance awards; they came from 17 countries, a dozen University institutions in Britain, and they included architects, planners, community and social development officers, a conservator of forests, an economist, a director of a Game and Wildlife Department, University lecturers, and civil engineers. The seminar was directed with skill and perceptive understanding by Professor Sir Robert Grieve assisted by the Board's Chief Planner Mr. Frank Spaven (who was largely responsible for the organisation) and colleagues on the staff of the Board.

A series of talks and discussions about the Board's activities in the furtherance of rural development, were complemented by a miscellany of field excursions which included visits to such varied enterprises which had received financial support from the Board, as a Pharmacy, a Marine Engineering Works, a Knitwear manufactory, a Printing Works, a garage, a market garden, a Café extension. Visits were also made to Skye's Gaelic College, to the local Headquarters of the Scottish National Trust, to a Forest Commission development area, to the site of a rejected oil platform and a view of an alternative site in active operation. The emphasis of the week lay on the practical problems of regional development, and on ways and means of developing the informal sector as exemplified by projects supported by the Board and seen on the ground during visits paid by the participants. Overall it was a lively, stimulating week during which the Board's representatives dealt with some keen probing into nearly every aspect of their work.

The concensus was that the excursions had been particularly helpful; that Plockton in a truly rural setting was well placed for a seminar of this type – indeed that more seminars in such surroundings ought to be held; that conservation was a valuable complement to development (at the start some had regarded it as a constraint); that an affluent country such as Britain needed to set up a special agency to develop a relatively small rural population spread over a very large geographical area, was reassuring to those from developing countries faced with tackling their own rural problems.

That strangers from every Continent could meet and settle down together so quickly and cordially was in no mean measure due to the congenial atmosphere of the Plockton School Hostel under the admirable matronship of Mrs. Macrae.

The Village Inn at Plockton will long remember the impromptu international cabaret show which brought the Seminar to a close with Highland

ballads, Nigerian songs, Caribbean Calypsos and traditional entertainment from Latin America, Asia and the Far East.

(Specially contributed)

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD – *Inter-Faculty Committee for African Studies*

The first of what is planned as a series of Symposia on "Africa in the Colonial Period" was held at Wolfson College on 10-12 January 1975, and dealt with "The Conservation and Development of Natural Resources". The Convenor was Geoffrey Masefield of the Department of Agricultural Science, who like one or two others of the half dozen University representatives, had formerly served in a Natural Resources department in Africa. He had gathered a fair sample of those whose careers had centred on such departments, though a slight bias towards Forestry could be detected among the 26 participants. This was, however, quite appropriate: the Foresters, after all, originated the concept of conservation or "wise use", which has now rightly, as at this meeting, assumed precedence over "development".

The stated objective was "to tap living memories, while still available, of people who worked in Africa in the colonial period and to publish the proceedings as a record for use by future historians". Participants were urged to avoid well-documented aspects and focus on events in which they had taken part or had special knowledge: thus the emphasis was to be on motives and aims, on achievements or frustrations in pursuing them, on the problems of reconciling personal views and public duty when one disagreed with official policies, and on the effects on Africa and its peoples of what was done or attempted.

The formula adopted for the Symposium was well suited to this approach. After the Convener's introduction and a keynote address from an administrator's angle, the main business was divided into six 90-minute sessions, half of each for the presentation of an invited paper and half for its discussion. The topics chosen were Survey, Water Resources, Geology, Forestry, Agriculture and Animal Resources (the latter extended by common consent to include the wildlife resources which are still an important asset in many parts of Africa). The personal slant in the papers and discussions evoked numerous and often amusing "asides", and it is to be hoped that the Proceedings will contrive to preserve some of the more pertinent. Time was always short and there were some obvious omissions such as comparisons with resource management in non-British territories. Happily, however, several contributors were able to go back well beyond the last decade or two of the colonial period, even though in so doing they had partly to rely on recollections of the ideas and activities of many no longer available to speak for themselves.

(Specially contributed)

AFRICA – *Seminar for Librarians and Documentalists of Administrative Information Services*

A long-felt idea mooted as long ago as 1970 was given concrete expression

when more than fifty librarians and documentalists representing seventeen countries and three inter-governmental organisations in Africa, converged on the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration, Greenhill, Achimota from 31st March-7th April, 1975.

Between the years 1960 and 1970, there had sprung up in many countries in Africa Institutes of Administration and Management; the *raison d'etre* being the recognition that the problem of under-developed countries was not just the absence of resources but the lack of trained manpower.

However, problems of exchanges of information, documentation, training materials; inter-library loans, etc., among these Institutes had agitated their minds. This seminar was therefore organised to consider these and other problems in some depth. The seminar was financed by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Corporation, CAFRAD, and U.S.I.S.

In his opening speech Ghana's Commissioner responsible for N.R.C. (i.e. Governmental) Affairs, Major-General L. A. Okai, noted the impact which the seminar could have on administrative and management development across developing Africa. The keynote address was prepared by Dr. R. K. A. Gardiner, then Executive Secretary, E.C.A., but read on his behalf by the UNDP Resident Representative, Mr. G. Feliciano.

Messrs. E. S. Asiedu, Librarian of G.I.M.P.A. and T. K. Lwanga, Librarian, Makerere University, Kampala, were elected Chairman and Rapporteur-General respectively.

The Seminar discussed six main themes on which the following background papers were presented:

1. Establishing Network & Clearing House activities: Two papers by Dr. M. El Hadi, of CAFRAD; one on Feasibility of establishing an African Integrated Network of Administrative Information; the second on The Establishment of an African Administrative Training Materials Clearing House at CAFRAD.
2. Performance Standards, Guidelines and criteria for administrative services; paper by Dr. F. Schick, Department of Health, Education & Welfare, Washington, D.C.
3. Personnel development and training, paper by Dr. M. Chisholm, Dean of College of Library & Information Services, University of Maryland, U.S.A.
4. Inter-Library Co-operation: Basic functions and processes, paper by Dr. R. Shank, Director of Libraries, Smithsonian Institution, USA.
5. Organisation, Storage & Retrieval of Documents: Three main papers were presented under this theme, (i) Problems of cataloguing Administrative Materials by S. A. Afre, University of Cape Coast Library, Ghana; (ii) Effective Subject control of Administrative Materials by John Linford, of The British Library, London; and (iii) CAFRAD Information Retrieval System, by Dr. M. El Hadi, Director of Library and Documentation Services, CAFRAD, Tangier, Morocco.
6. Establishment of a Professional Association: A draft constitution for the African Association of Librarians/Documentalists of Administrative Information Services was presented by D. O. Agidee, Senior Librarian, Institute of Administration, University of Ife, Nigeria.

As a result of these discussions a number of resolutions were passed as recommendations to the various African governments for their adoption, the most important of which were the following:

1. The establishment of an African Integrated Network of Administrative Information (AINAI);
2. Co-operative schemes in the field of administrative information services;
3. Utilisation of modern concepts and practices in the organisation, storage and delivery of administrative information;
4. Formation of an organisation known as the "Standing Conference of Librarians, Documentalists, Archivists of Administrative Information Services in Africa" (SCOLDAAISIA); and
5. The convening of a follow up seminar by CAFRAD for Francophone and Arabic-speaking countries in 1976, culminating in an all African seminar in 1977.

At the end of the seminar the following were elected the first officers of the body charged to follow up the implementation of these resolutions:

Chairman:	E. S. Asiedu (Ghana)
Secretary/Treasurer:	A. K. Mashembo (Tanzania)
News Editor:	A. O. Banjo (Nigeria)
AINAI-Coordinator:	M. El Hadi (CAFRAD)

(Contributed by E. S. Adiedu)

Book Reviews

The Strategy of International Development, by H. W. SINGER (Eds. Sir ALEC CAIRNCROSS and MOHINDER PURI), *The Macmillan Press*, 1975; pp. xvi + 248. £9.00

Complaints about academic imperialism have led to a call for indigenous theory formation in the Third World, accompanied by a rejection of "Western" concepts, theories, models and paradigms. Western scholars have been accused of having imposed inappropriate, irrelevant, biased or even exploitative concepts, models and theories and, it has been claimed, Third World intellectuals must formulate "alternative" structures of thought. Yet, many of these "alternative" models that now exist have themselves "Western" origins. Among those who have sympathetically and empathetically analysed the problems of the developing countries and subjected conventional thinking to a critique, Hans Singer occupies an important position. But he does not rest content, like so many other critics, with pointing to deficiencies; he is always ready to propose what should be done and to mobilise support for it. His critical faculty and intellectual fertility are matched by his practical energy.

Hans Singer was among the first to see that an international regime of free trade and investment does not distribute gains evenly but gives unto those who have, while taking from those who have little what little they have. Singer's analysis of the mechanism of the uneven distribution of gains shifted between his pioneering 1949 essay and his revisit in 1971 (or 1974 – there is some conflict of evidence about the date), both reprinted in this volume, but the perception of the problem has withstood remarkably well the passage of a quarter of a century. The early analysis was based on trade in different *commodity* groups, the terms on which it is conducted, the colonial type of export-orientated foreign investment in mines and plantations and failure to industrialise. The current analysis is based on different types of *countries* and the impact of technology and its carrier, the multinational firm. "Economists have tended to become slaves to the geographers" and have failed to see the alignments of interests and benefits that run across national frontiers.

Hans Singer is also one of the founding fathers of the structural analysis of development. This analysis explains disequilibrium in the balance of payments, unemployment and worsening income distribution by particular properties of demand and supply functions and the role of institutions. In particular, Singer has analysed the failure of the price mechanism to produce a satisfactory income distribution.

While high growth rates in the Sixties have led, at first, to questioning of Singer's pessimistic 1949 views, growing unemployment, worsening income distribution and the disruption of the world trading system through increased oil and food prices have vindicated his structural approach.

Singer focuses on science and technology, and on research and development, as the crucial areas in which a breakthrough ("development is growth plus change") can be expected if the expenditure is properly directed. But there is a contradiction between his essay criticising Keynesian and Harrod-Domar models on the one hand and his essays on technology on the other. In the former he rightly shows that there are no fixed co-efficients between, say, expenditure on irrigation and the resulting increase in crops. Much depends on the system of land tenure, on available seeds, on rural credit and on whether farmers know how to use the water. Capital/output ratios vary within wide limits, depending on the "human factor". But when it comes to Research and Development (R & D), this is forgotten and Singer writes as if you pour in a certain amount of money into the R & D sausage machine and out come the solutions to specific problems in a predictable and precise manner. Yet, technical innovation, like birth control programmes and expenditure on land reform, and unlike making shoes, shows only a tenuous connection between money spent and results.

Even if we were to accept the assumption that R & D is the cause of new technology, we still have to explain the differential impact of R & D expenditure on different types of activity. Singer stresses the importance of appropriate institutions and incentives for the ability to absorb inventions, but this is surely not the whole story.

The difficulties in applying an appropriate technology for developing countries arises because there are two distinct gaps and filling one widens the other. Because of a suitability gap, appropriate technologies do not exist and have to be invented; because of a communication gap, what suitable or suitably adapted technologies do exist, are not sufficiently widely known. But closing the communication gap, so that more is known about what is available, simultaneously reduces the capacity and willingness to invent indigenous technologies; while creating these incentives by closing the country off from foreign influences widens the communications gap. This is the basic dilemma.

Singer hopes that political detente will make it possible to switch military expenditure to R & D on development. And, of course, in relation to what is now spent on defence, atomic energy and space research, the 5 per cent target for development research would be quite small. But, alas, the political limits of economics point to the irrelevant alternative. A boy comes home, boasting to his father that he saved 10 pence by walking from school instead of taking the bus. "You fool," replies the father, "why didn't you not take a taxi and save £1?"

Singer's criticism of imported technology is directed entirely at its capital-intensity. But these technologies may be inappropriate for a number of different additional reasons. They may be management-intensive, as many model agricultural smallholder schemes; or they may depend on institutions or consumption patterns not found in poor countries (even such a simple implement as a spade requires diggers who wear shoes or boots); or they may relate to a specific culture, like Western labour relations but unlike the Japanese system. A British traveller to China in 1793 observed that the most common tools "have something peculiar in their construction, some differ-

ence . . . always clearly indicating that, whether better or worse fitted for their purposes than those used in other countries, the one did not serve as a model for the other". The almost exclusive emphasis on capital-intensity is another example of insufficient liberation from "Western" concepts, a liberation for which Singer calls.

A paper on aid written nearly ten years ago contains a highly topical recommendation about supplementing aid targets by trade targets. With the drying up of aid and the greater need for foreign exchange of the poorest countries as a result of the rise in their import prices, trade targets on the part of developed countries have an important part to play. It also contains the germ of the suggestion to separate grant element targets from loan targets, the former related to national income per head, the latter to the state of the balance of payments. This would overcome the present aid deadlock in which the rich excuse themselves on liquidity grounds and the oil producers on grounds of comparatively lower incomes.

As chief of the ILO Kenya mission Singer, together with Richard Jolly, designed the strategy of "redistribution from growth", now adopted by the World Bank, with a new emphasis on the "informal" sector as productive and to be encouraged, and not just a pool of pimps, prostitutes, pilferers and pedlars.

These essays, written in an easy and lucid style, with a warm heart and a cool head, blending felicitous quantitative illustrations with qualitative judgments, and analysis with policy, present development economics at its best.

PAUL STREETEN

Utopia or Else, by RENE DUMONT; *André Deutsch, London,* 1974 (French original – **L'Utopie ou la mort?** *Editions du Seuil, Paris,* 1973); £1.75

Those who are irritated by Dumont's egocentric and jerky style will find no relief in this latest book. If anything there has been a deterioration since *False Start in Africa.* The translation does little to mitigate this though it does, rather gratuitously, soften the impact of the title. Certain Gallicisms have been edited out, such as allusions to Balzac and Pascal and the English version includes a reference to Lenin's proposal that gold be used to cover the walls of public lavatories, which is not in the French paperback. One is left wondering what views of the respective tastes of the French and English-speaking worlds inspire such oddities. At any rate, the best squibs and quips in the book survive the translation, including the dismissal of Hermann Khan the futurologist – "Since he is not a stupid man we are entitled to wonder whether he is being sincere."

One sentence is misleading. We are told that ". . . approximately 150 million mothers and young children in the poor countries are suffering to various degrees of undernourishment and from advanced *malnutrition – the main problem is lack of protein*" (my italics). (The French version mentioned ". . . malnutrition – *surtout proteiniques* – "). But we know that the main problem with protein malnutrition is lack of calories in diets which leads to

proteins being used for calories. The main problem is lack of calories. It is neither true, nor an accurate translation, to state that "the main problem is lack of protein"; this perpetuates a dangerous myth which supports wrong prescriptions.

All this said, Dumont's sharp attack on the policies and values of the richer countries and of the richer people in the poorer countries deserves to be widely read. He opens with a review of the final decades of the wasteful society, taking issue with unthinking optimists, with the waste of non-renewable resources, with pollution, with philosophies of economic growth in the richer countries, and with the arms race. He warns that revolts are inevitable in the dominated countries. The "revolts" which he advocates include the achievement of national independence based on a country's own resources; the setting up of international boards to handle raw materials; repudiating excessive international debts; nationalising the subsoil; an economic system for the whole planet with accelerated growth for the dominated countries; and centralised allocation of scarce resources. For the richer countries he argues for zero growth in economy and population, and for the poorer countries reducing imports rather than increasing exports. Many of his ideas appear to originate from the Club of Rome and from the Ecologist group which wrote *A Blueprint for Survival* (Penguin Books, 1972). It is wrong of the "blurb" to claim that he is original in believing that the need for population control is greater in the richer than in the poorer countries (because people in the richer countries consume so much more of non-renewable resources, etc.), but he certainly is unusual in proposing large-scale population movements to mitigate overpopulation in the poorer countries.

Of the Utopias which might result we are given only scattered hints. They would be socialist and non-communist. The assembly line would be reduced and manual labour exalted. The private car would be abolished and public transport substituted. Salaries and wages would be much more equal. There would be more leisure. Non-renewable resources would be carefully rationed. Taxation systems would penalise waste and reward durability. The values that would be exalted would be those of peasant communities – austerity, thrift, prudence and dignity. Behind all his caustic rationality, Dumont gives hints of a romantic nostalgia for rural life which may be much more widespread and have more appeal than one would guess from the frivolous trappings of industrial consumer society.

Almost all powerful people in the world could, however, be expected to oppose his proposals. Like other books of this genre, *Utopia or Else* contains a catalogue of current sins, a Jeremiad about prospects, and hints of a better future but no serious or plausible attempt to chart a realistic path to that future. Whatever the path, it would require political vision and leadership of an unprecedented calibre, for he is asking the richer countries to halt growth and to allow a larger share of the world's resources for the poorer countries, proposals which are far more radical than the usual liberal demands for greater transfers of resources from rich to poor. Dumont himself has realised that the problems are primarily political as his candidacy for the French presidency shows. But he did very badly and if, as this reviewer

does, one accepts most of Dumont's points, it is depressingly difficult to see how any significant dent can be made in the complacent self-interest of the richer world and of the richer people in the poorer world. This book helps by providing some initial shock treatment and should be read by all those who see no need for radical reorganisation. But we still need the more serious working through of ideas and proposals, the development of a new political philosophy, the emergence of new political platforms nationally and internationally. Dumont and others have made a start but we still await the synthesising genius of a true prophet.

ROBERT CHAMBERS

International Procurement: A training manual, by GOSTA WESTRING; *United Nations Institute for Training and Research,* 1974; bibliography; pp. 211; $10.00 (or equivalent in other currencies).

The literature on the implementation of large capital projects in developing countries – especially projects in the public sector – has recently been pitched at an increasingly sophisticated level of analysis and debate, in which the primary focus has been on project appraisal in socio-economic terms. Much less has been published at the more mundane level at which most administrators have to operate, at which day-to-day procedural and practical questions are dominant.

A major deficiency has been the lack of detailed analysis of the implications of alternative methods of international procurement. Yet there is much evidence to suggest that inappropriate procurement methods, exacerbated by the constraints imposed by the practice of procurement-tying, have been a major cause of waste in developing countries' use of foreign credits. It is relatively easy to find economists capable of assessing the social and economic, and increasingly the technological, aspects of capital projects. But it seems to be much harder to get sound advice simply on how to ensure purchase on the most advantageous terms. The standard answer given by international procurement agencies is "open tender": but open tender can be very time-consuming, requires highly specialised skills it if is to give more than illusory protection, and is in many cases inappropriate.

A pioneering effort to make good this deficiency was the series of seminars on international procurement conducted by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. Mr. Westring, who directed the series, was subsequently invited to incorporate the material of these seminars into a manual. In doing so, he has inevitably drawn on the experience gained, with the result that the manual will be useful not only for training purposes, but also for those at a higher level who have to consider some of the policy problems that Mr. Westring raises.

The manual is divided into three main parts: first, a series of lecture notes; second, case study material consisting largely of questions relating to the procurement programme for a set of interrelated infrastructure projects geared to the development of a new mine; third, a valuable collection of standard documents on procurement procedures.

Given the specialised nature of the skills required for procurement of certain types of equipment, no manual could be expected to provide more than an introduction to the subject. Compressed into thirty-nine pages, Mr. Westring's lecture notes will need to be supplemented by a good deal of practical experience if they are to be used effectively. Similarly, unless UNITAR has a separately available guide to the case study material, anyone using it for training purposes will need to have had some experience of the problems encountered. However, the manual, apart from being a skilfully compiled teaching aid, may serve the valuable purpose of giving the heads of procurement departments a basis on which to review their current practices, some of which may well have become established by administrative convention rather than by purposeful choice. Mr. Westring is concisely impressive, for instance, on the difficult question of when to use open bidding, selective bidding, negotiated procurement or direct purchase: a question on which the standard guidelines of international agencies are less than helpful. At a more specific level of detail, also, he draws attention to many pitfalls which are sometimes overlooked.

A particularly valuable feature of Mr. Westring's work is that it recognises the special problem of developing countries, often left out of account in the standard procedures, arising from their lack of regular contact and familiarity with established suppliers. The problem is particularly acute for users of tied aid, who find themselves committed to particular suppliers by the method of financing, and who therefore may have to choose a source of finance, and thus a supplier, without the protection of formal procedures of the type that Mr. Westring discusses. The solution of the problem lies in greatly improved market information, a task to which UNITAR might well consider addressing itself next. Meanwhile, Mr. Westring has made a thoroughly practical and useful start, which, if properly followed up, could save the public sector procurement programmes of developing countries many, many millions of pounds in a surprisingly short space of time.

JOHN WHITE

Underdevelopment in Kenya (The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism), by COLIN LEYS; *Heinemann;* 1975, pp. 284; £2.00 (paperback).

Professor Leys' book should not be read by anyone who expects to be given solutions to the problems of underdevelopment in Kenya. It should be read, however, by everyone who wishes to acquire a better understanding of society, the economy and politics in Kenya and the way they have evolved since the beginning of the century and particularly since independence in 1963. Professor Leys gives good reasons why he does not follow "the convenient fiction of value-freedom" and concludes that "since not all the interests involved are mutually compatible, everyone must choose those which he would like his work to try to serve". In his stated intent "to try to adopt a conceptual framework which as far as possible embraces the interests of those who are exploited and oppressed", he is consistent and frank, and his approach results in a presentation which is clear and unequivocal.

The book describes how the mass of the people in Kenya experienced "a consolidation of their subjection to the power of capital" which, though still mainly expatriate, was "increasingly linked to the political power of domestic capital" which itself is mainly in the hands of "compradors".

Professor Leys traces the development of this situation from the completion of the Mombasa-Uganda railway at the turn of the century, and the white settlement which took place in the highlands alongside it, up to the present. The first chapter is devoted to an outline of underdevelopment theory which is mainly marxist and which is essential to a proper understanding of Professor Leys' interpretation of events in Kenya.

In Chapter 2 he describes the colonial economy and the transition to neo-colonialism in Kenya. He writes that "Kenya began to play the classic role of a country at the periphery of the capitalist system, exporting primary commodities and importing manufactures". It is obvious that no other role was at first possible. What matters is how the system of ownership and control adopted under colonial rule in Kenya operated to make this role self-perpetuating once it had ceased to be inescapable". He describes how the "highlands" were alienated to Europeans; how population pressure and taxation gradually forced more and more Africans to seek work on European farms for extremely low wages; how the Europeans received most of the benefit of government services; how almost everything was organised under some degree of monopoly in favour of Europeans; a monopoly of the most profitable economic crops for the European farmers; a monopoly over land labour, capital, technology and markets which "permeated the entire sphere of operations of European (or white, as opposed to Indian) capital". Professor Leys discusses the "carefully fostered myth of the importance of the European mixed farms" which "represented a way of life to which educated Africans had learned to aspire", and indicates how the 1939-45 war stimulated the economy, particularly agriculture, to such an extent that when the political crisis following the Mau Mau uprising came it was able to respond without any radical change. After the war, however, the commercial sector was no longer directly dependent on European agriculture or the mixed farmers who, Professor Leys calculates, owned no more than 15-20 per cent of the foreign assets invested in Kenya by 1958. He concludes that "Once the Emergency had called in question the continuation of the whole colonial economy and the security of foreign investments generally it was not surprising that the newer commercial and industrial interests, and even the ranches and plantation companies, found themselves willing if necessary to abandon the settlers, who had hitherto been allowed to speak for all foreign interests, and to seek an alliance with African leaders prepared to accept the private-enterprise system and allow them to stay in business". Professor Leys writes that "Asians probably owned nearly three-quarters of the private non-agricultural assets of the country" and the thought of economic domination by Asians in place of political domination by Europeans was equally repugnant to both Africans and Europeans. Thus the unstated strategy of the New Kenya Group and others became one of adapting the local system of monopoly to accommodate some Africans, and to import more capital from the West rather than to

discard the monopoly system and institute a programme based on competition. Professor Leys writes that after the second world war, government policy recognised the need to prevent frustration among the educated and propertied Africans, and as far as was possible to join their interests with those of the colonial regime. Professor Leys describes how this was done; how a Cabinet committee on "African Advancement" was set up to consider measures which would assist African traders; how the Swynnerton Plan and a programme of land consolidation and registration sought to do the same for the African peasant farming community and how, in the industrial and commercial sector, companies, especially international companies, began to switch to African distributors and establish a network of African businessmen who would want to keep their patrons in business.

Professor Leys identifies the transfer of land as the final link in the transition to neo-colonialism. The Emergency had made it clear that there would have to be an African government and that the mixed farms in the highlands would have to be transferred to Africans. At the same time the main Kikuyu leaders saw that under a system of private ownership of land the Kikuyu bourgeoisie would be able to establish themselves in the Rift Valley. When K.A.N.U. formed the government of an independent Kenya with Jomo Kenyatta as its leader, the policy was "that private property should be respected, that the settlers should stay, and that the colonial government's consolidation of land and wealth in the Kikuyu country should be left undisturbed". Into power had come an African leadership with similar interests and ideas to its colonial predecessor in an alliance with expatriate and foreign capital.

Having discussed the change from colonialism to neo-colonialism, Professor Leys turns to specific elements of this transition. Firstly, to land and agriculture where the two main policies were the individualisation of land tenure and the differential provision of credit", supplemented by a wide variety of institutional mechanisms designed to integrate peasant production into the established capitalistic economic framework". He describes how these policies produced a hierarchy of African farmers at the top of which were some who owned very large farms and who were "linked professionally, socially and economically to the foreign capitalist enclave". At the bottom were the mass of the peasantry with little access to capital, extension services and other inputs, and a growing minority of landless labourers and squatters.

Professor Leys then turns his attention to the part played by capital. With reference to foreign capital he describes how, despite the Africanisation of senior posts in the foreign owned companies, changes in taxation, measures such as exchange and price control and various systems of share purchase, the industrial sector, including areas such as tourism, remained almost entirely under the ownership and control of foreign interests: He indicates that to whatever extent Africanisation of jobs and shareholding were successful, they only succeeded in bringing the government and the higher civil service even closer to the values, interests and operations of foreign capital. This close link was strengthened because of an African petty-bourgeoisie which had been growing under a system of state protection as a support to foreign capital. African capitalists covered a much wider spectrum of the

economy and society and included large and smaller scale African farmers many of whom were also those who had industrial and commercial interests, indeed some of whom had used the profits from non-agricultural activities to purchase land and farms. These same people also formed the top leadership of K.A.N.U. in Nairobi and in the countryside. Even those Africans in small businesses who had hardly been successful enough to qualify as capitalists, who were operating small enterprises in trade, transport and building, sought to work alongside foreign capital with its protection rather than attempt to use political power to remove it. Professor Leys concludes that "The effect of these forces thus seemed likely to be the consolidation of a firm alliance between foreign capital and the new African 'auxiliary bourgeoisie', operating under more and more heavily protected conditions".

Professor Leys then turns to the neo-colonial society of Kenya and its politics. Class structure he describes as "the product of both the colonial and the pre-colonial history of Kenya; neo-colonialism saw no more than a development of certain characteristics already formed in earlier phases". He goes on to show how the greatest change brought by capitalism was through the introduction and increasing use of wage labour. Of the African bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie his main addition to what he has discussed earlier is to comment on the significance of the fact that nearly all African businessmen were farmers, and the larger ones capitalist farmers. Professor Leys suggests that this caused a dispersion of the capital and managerial resources of the petty-bourgeoisie and reduced their rate of accumulation. This was happening when local and international foreign capital was seeking every opportunity to establish itself in manufacturing so that there was, for the time being at any rate, no clash of interest between the African petty-bourgeoisie and foreign capital. Furthermore, although they comprised a politically important group, the efforts of the African petty-bourgeoisie to secure a monopoly of small-scale business and establish themselves as landed gentry diverted them from the centre where critical decisions were being made. Of the public servants – some 50,000 people earning more than £200 a year and excluding only the higher policy-making ranks – Professor Leys identifies them "with the interests of domestic and foreign capital, which the state existed to serve". Looking at the urban workers, Professor Leys concludes that most have small-holdings, the ties to which are more important than their jobs in the towns and that as long as their final security rests in the rural areas the development of a proletarian class-consciousness will be delayed. Of the workers in the rural areas he states that, since most had land near to their place of employment and some actually cultivated their own food crops on the plots where they were employed, the conditions of their wage-employment forced them to depend on growing food crops and to identify with the landholding peasantry. Of the peasantry generally, Professor Leys comments on the comparative equality of those in the "middle" and "poor" categories. He indicates that the poverty of the majority of peasant households in Kikuyu country in the mid-1960's compared with their richest neighbours was not as abject as that of peasants in most of Asia and Latin America. He goes on to say that the situation of peasants and workers in many African countries, including Kenya, is different from that of their counterparts in many other parts of the world where there is often a margin

of people who are so poor and who have such low status that they are largely excluded from effective membership of society. Few people in Kenya in 1970 were in this position and their link with the rich in the cities was still quite active and personal. Professor Leys concludes, however, that inequality and particularly the increasing development of wage-labour must be causing a gradual polarisation in society which, with salaried employment becoming the monopoly of the richer peasant families, would result in the gradual crystallisation of classes. Of the highest ranks of the public service, Professor Leys states that few of them saw any discrepancy between the aims of government policy, their own position and the interests of the majority of the general public; that they regarded the government as popularly elected; that it was generally benevolent, concerned about problems such as poverty and lack of opportunity, and that it gave them a fair amount of discretion in their work. This attitude of senior public officials was strengthened by their close links with their extended families in the countryside. Professor Leys argues that this did not mean that the most senior public officials fulfilled less of a "comprador" function than their counterparts in other countries of the third world, but that they and the peasants and workers were less aware of it.

Towards the end of his chapter on neo-colonial society in Kenya and in the subsequent chapter on the politics of neo-colonisation, Professor Leys deals with the part played by "tribalism". The gist of his argument is that tribalism was not a phenomenon which arose naturally from the aspirations of the different tribes in Kenya in the post-independence period, but that it was used, together with coercion, by the government to counter the challenge of radical opposition, He sees it as the main tool to distract the most exploited strata of society, especially in Kikuyu country, from an emerging class-consciousness, and to prevent the Kenya People's Union (K.P.U. – the opposition party) from using class antagonisms to gain nationwide support. The other significant point which Professor Leys makes about the defeat of the K.P.U. is that this was due to the contradictory aims of the K.P.U. itself which he describes as "essentially petty-bourgeois in character – a 'fairer' distribution of land, more help for the 'little-man' in business, and so on – although they were given a socialist flavour both by the established rhetoric of African nationalism, and by the fact that their opponents were so closely identified with foreign capital". Thus the K.P.U. was looking for support from people most of whom were about to be confirmed in their ownership of land and who were therefore opposed to those whose plots were small or who were landless, with the result that a compromised programme succumbed to tribalism.

Professor Leys' conclusion about events in Kenya is that "It means a continuation of the structure of exploitation and domination established by colonial rule, which for the vast majority of the population meant a continuing prospect of hard, unproductive labour mainly for the benefit of others, accompanied by growing inequality, insecurity, social inferiority and the virtually complete absence of political rights".

Had this been the sum of what Professor Leys had to say about underdevelopment in Kenya the book would, for most readers perhaps, be better

than most that are written in this difficult and controversial field. It is, as one has come to expect from him, scholarly, well-informed and carefully written. In his analysis of processes and events in Kenya he is not merely plausible – one has the feeling that, more often than not, he is right. Unfortunately, there is a final chapter under the title "Contradictions of Neo-Colonialism" in which, in order to argue his case he uses, almost exclusively, the report of the I.L.O. mission which visited Kenya in 1972 to study and advise on Employment, Incomes and Equality. Having given the gist of the main recommendations of the mission's report, particularly those which referred to the redistribution of incomes, he comments on the resemblance between the mission's proposals and the essentials of the K.P.U.s former programme and asks, "What did the mission think would induce the Kenyatta regime to do in the 1970s what it had not only not done, but had destroyed its opponents for advocating in the 1960s?" Unlikely as it may seem that the Kenya government would implement in their entirety the recommendations of the I.L.O. mission, it would not be the first time that a government had implemented reforms which it had previously rejected when put forward by an opposition group. A common reason for the initial rejection of such reforms is that their acceptance would give political capital and power to the opposition but, once the opposition has been crushed, governments often find ways to introduce the same reforms, presented in a new package and in such a way as to give the impression that they are their own ideas. As Professor Leys himself points out, the Kenya government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973 on Employment stated that "in most cases, proposals in the (ILO) report reflect, or are consistent with, current government policies". Is it too naive to hope that the government may begin to act on some of the I.L.O. mission's proposals?

Professor Leys admits that "The government's claim that the ILO mission's recommendations largely reflected its current policies contained an element of truth", but he adds that "Where the ILO mission differed from the government, was that it was much less sensitive to the interests of the middle and higher bureaucracy, and of the large-scale farmers and the auxiliary bourgeoisie and those pressing to join them; interests which depended on multiple forms of protection and monopoly and were thus basically opposed to the changes which the mission had in mind". The meanings and implications of the I.L.O. mission's report are clear enough to those who want to see no matter which class of society they represent. Whether the political will to implement their recommendations is present remains to be seen.

The I.L.O. mission considered that a programme of reforms was feasible, Professor Leys disagrees, inevitably, since he maintains that "its thinking was cast within the logic of a social science whose central concepts ultimately embodied bourgeois interests, What it saw, therefore, was not the contradictory reality, but only an 'imbalance'; not a struggle of oppressing and oppressed classes, but only a series of particular 'conflicts of interests' which the 'leadership' would resolve, if only from enlightened self-interest, in favour of the common good". Perhaps this difference of opinion sums up the sense of frustration which this book may give to some readers who seek solutions to the problems of underdevelopment, but who are confused by

of people who are so poor and who have such low status that they are largely excluded from effective membership of society. Few people in Kenya in 1970 were in this position and their link with the rich in the cities was still quite active and personal. Professor Leys concludes, however, that inequality and particularly the increasing development of wage-labour must be causing a gradual polarisation in society which, with salaried employment becoming the monopoly of the richer peasant families, would result in the gradual crystallisation of classes. Of the highest ranks of the public service, Professor Leys states that few of them saw any discrepancy between the aims of government policy, their own position and the interests of the majority of the general public; that they regarded the government as popularly elected; that it was generally benevolent, concerned about problems such as poverty and lack of opportunity, and that it gave them a fair amount of discretion in their work. This attitude of senior public officials was strengthened by their close links with their extended families in the countryside. Professor Leys argues that this did not mean that the most senior public officials fulfilled less of a "comprador" function than their counterparts in other countries of the third world, but that they and the peasants and workers were less aware of it.

Towards the end of his chapter on neo-colonial society in Kenya and in the subsequent chapter on the politics of neo-colonisation, Professor Leys deals with the part played by "tribalism". The gist of his argument is that tribalism was not a phenomenon which arose naturally from the aspirations of the different tribes in Kenya in the post-independence period, but that it was used, together with coercion, by the government to counter the challenge of radical opposition, He sees it as the main tool to distract the most exploited strata of society, especially in Kikuyu country, from an emerging class-consciousness, and to prevent the Kenya People's Union (K.P.U. – the opposition party) from using class antagonisms to gain nationwide support. The other significant point which Professor Leys makes about the defeat of the K.P.U. is that this was due to the contradictory aims of the K.P.U. itself which he describes as "essentially petty-bourgeois in character – a 'fairer' distribution of land, more help for the 'little-man' in business, and so on – although they were given a socialist flavour both by the established rhetoric of African nationalism, and by the fact that their opponents were so closely identified with foreign capital". Thus the K.P.U. was looking for support from people most of whom were about to be confirmed in their ownership of land and who were therefore opposed to those whose plots were small or who were landless, with the result that a compromised programme succumbed to tribalism.

Professor Leys' conclusion about events in Kenya is that "It means a continuation of the structure of exploitation and domination established by colonial rule, which for the vast majority of the population meant a continuing prospect of hard, unproductive labour mainly for the benefit of others, accompanied by growing inequality, insecurity, social inferiority and the virtually complete absence of political rights".

Had this been the sum of what Professor Leys had to say about underdevelopment in Kenya the book would, for most readers perhaps, be better

than most that are written in this difficult and controversial field. It is, as one has come to expect from him, scholarly, well-informed and carefully written. In his analysis of processes and events in Kenya he is not merely plausible – one has the feeling that, more often than not, he is right. Unfortunately, there is a final chapter under the title "Contradictions of Neo-Colonialism" in which, in order to argue his case he uses, almost exclusively, the report of the I.L.O. mission which visited Kenya in 1972 to study and advise on Employment, Incomes and Equality. Having given the gist of the main recommendations of the mission's report, particularly those which referred to the redistribution of incomes, he comments on the resemblance between the mission's proposals and the essentials of the K.P.U.s former programme and asks, "What did the mission think would induce the Kenyatta regime to do in the 1970s what it had not only not done, but had destroyed its opponents for advocating in the 1960s?" Unlikely as it may seem that the Kenya government would implement in their entirety the recommendations of the I.L.O. mission, it would not be the first time that a government had implemented reforms which it had previously rejected when put forward by an opposition group. A common reason for the initial rejection of such reforms is that their acceptance would give political capital and power to the opposition but, once the opposition has been crushed, governments often find ways to introduce the same reforms, presented in a new package and in such a way as to give the impression that they are their own ideas. As Professor Leys himself points out, the Kenya government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1973 on Employment stated that "in most cases, proposals in the (ILO) report reflect, or are consistent with, current government policies". Is it too naive to hope that the government may begin to act on some of the I.L.O. mission's proposals?

Professor Leys admits that "The government's claim that the ILO mission's recommendations largely reflected its current policies contained an element of truth", but he adds that "Where the ILO mission differed from the government, was that it was much less sensitive to the interests of the middle and higher bureaucracy, and of the large-scale farmers and the auxiliary bourgeoisie and those pressing to join them; interests which depended on multiple forms of protection and monopoly and were thus basically opposed to the changes which the mission had in mind". The meanings and implications of the I.L.O. mission's report are clear enough to those who want to see no matter which class of society they represent. Whether the political will to implement their recommendations is present remains to be seen.

The I.L.O. mission considered that a programme of reforms was feasible, Professor Leys disagrees, inevitably, since he maintains that "its thinking was cast within the logic of a social science whose central concepts ultimately embodied bourgeois interests, What it saw, therefore, was not the contradictory reality, but only an 'imbalance'; not a struggle of oppressing and oppressed classes, but only a series of particular 'conflicts of interests' which the 'leadership' would resolve, if only from enlightened self-interest, in favour of the common good". Perhaps this difference of opinion sums up the sense of frustration which this book may give to some readers who seek solutions to the problems of underdevelopment, but who are confused by

the different interpretations of those who are well informed. It offers valuable insights into the problems of underdevelopment, but it also illustrates that the "conflict of interests" may be just as great amongst those who address themselves to the problems of underdevelopment in third world countries from outside as it is within the countries themselves.

COLIN FULLER

Problem of Choice – Land in Papua New Guinea; Ed. PETER G. SACK; *Australian National University Press*, Canberra, 1974; pp. 220; $A7.95

The keynote of this little book is its sincerity; for sincerity is apparent in each successive paper as each contributor, indigenous or expatriate, tries in his own way to diagnose the current land problems of Papua New Guinea and, from his own direct experience, to outline proposals for their solution.

The reader is left in no doubt as to the complexity and severity of land problems facing the country on the eve of Independence and the book does a great service in drawing attention to them. They must not be swept under the carpet by the outgoing Administration; from their very nature these problems will inevitably grow worse if untreated. In the context of Papua New Guinea's present stage of development they are crucial and the choice of solution must inevitably play a highly significant role in determining the future form of society.

The basic difficulty stems from changing attitudes towards land and towards the man/land relationship. The main issue may be seen to lie between the "sacred family trust" theory of traditional communities and the "factor of production" or "commodity" theory adopted automatically by the Administration and also, it would now seem, by a small but increasing proportion of the people themselves. The wide cultural gap has precluded any deep understanding, until now, of that very close emotional attachment felt by Papua New Guineans to their ancestral land, built up over many generations of "unbalanced factor proportions" (to use the modern jargon), and reinforced more recently by the increasing population pressure that has coincided with a relatively short colonial period.

Multiple influences are forcing a departure from customary attitudes and the dominant feature of the new economy is now the exploitation of land for private gain and for national wealth, rather than for kinship subsistence. The implications of these changes penetrate every aspect of local life. In Papua New Guinea's case, forthcoming Independence means that many of those harbouring grievances over land now feel obliged to take the law into their own hands; but it should also give the newly-independent government a unique opportunity to take a fresh look at the policy alternatives. All the more reason why these matters should be fully ventilated now.

But both the problems and the proposed solutions will seem depressingly familiar to the reader with experience of less-developed countries elsewhere. The situations may be parallel rather than identical; but how many African, Asian or South American countries have encountered them all before?

The uncertainty resulting from conflict between customary and "received" law; the long-standing grievances over past conquests or over "sales" of traditionally inalienable property rights: the endemic feuds over boundaries at both intra- and inter-kinship group level: the heightening tensions arising from differential pressures on resources: the demand for land occasioned by the expansion of cash-cropping: the unprecedented adjustments necessitated by urbanisation: the desecration of magico-religious sites and the environmental outrages resulting from mineral ore extraction: the debate over individual ownership or some variety of group tenure and enterprise: the suspicions engendered by the use of title registration for the protection of foreign interests: we have seen them all before because they are universal problems of development and the similarities with Africa south of the Sahara are particularly obvious.

And the solutions? Here the reader might conceivably have expected the book to attempt to bring the problem more clearly into focus by arguing, from external experience, that the eventual choice must lie between radical socialist policies and the less fundamental but nevertheless stringent measures acceptable to democracy. But this approach is not adopted; there is only one indirect mention of totalitarianism in the whole book and no hint that any of the contributors see a solution in nationalisation or in collectivism. Such sweeping measures must currently be regarded as unrealistic or irrelevant by indigenous and expatriate contributors alike.

Instead the several proposals put forward recommend particular solutions for particular problems and begin to frame a policy package based upon close analysis of the present position, upon sympathy with the values and aspirations of the local people and allowing for both flexibility and experimentation. Clearly there will have to be restitution of property rights and resettlement and probably a degree of redistributive reform, all accompanied by a very considerable and sustained effort in land administration and by regional planning to promote the more balanced growth of rural and urban sectors; including a vigorous policy of employment creation off the land.

An awesome task indeed for the incoming Administration!

H. W. WEST

Alternative Strategies for Papua New Guinea, edited by A. CLUNIES ROSS and J. LANGMORE; O.U.P. 1973; pp. 263; £7.95

Papua New Guinea has only very recently emerged as an independent nation, a step many of its leaders have been reluctant to take, and a step whose timing owes much to the desire of Australia's present government to rid itself of image-harming colonial responsibilities. This book indicates why it is that independence has been so long delayed, and sets out the complex problems which will trouble the new country. The book consists of ten original papers by members of the academic staff of the University of Papua New Guinea and has been edited by Anthony Clunies Ross, formerly Professor of Economics at the University, and John Langmore, Lecturer in Economics there. The ten papers cover administration, law, the

public service, localisation, educational policy, industry and investment, the constitution, secession movements, and social planning in the context of the relevance of Tanzanian socialism. The general plan has been to give a critical account, which has been very competently done, of the development of these matters in Papua New Guinea, and to discuss the various changes in policy open to the new government.

The issues raised will of course be not unfamiliar to administrators, past and present, of former British colonies. Such things for example as the dilemmas of educational policy, that is to say manpower direction or individual freedom, quality or quantity, rural education or urban, and the like, have been questions to which answers have been sought in all developing countries. Where Papua New Guinea differs is in the degree of complexity of various of the problems it faces. The nature of the terrain has been basic to its development. Contact with the outside world was peripheral until the nineteen-thirties, and even today land communications are scanty. A country of some $2\frac{1}{2}$ million, speaking, at a guess, some 700 separate languages, and spread over a tangle of islands, reefs, and sea as extensive as all East Africa, makes a difficult target for nationhood.

The tenor of the proposals in the ten papers is not unexpectedly for a substantial degree of social and economic planning, albeit with a healthy suspicion of development in the western style which might alter Papua New Guinea's predominantly rural character. There is an implied and perhaps over-optimistic presumption that the administrative and political skills exist which radical planning of this kind needs. It must be doubtful, too, whether the social and economic strengthening of rural communities which is emphasised, will easily overcome the attractions of urban life. Anthony Clunies Ross's paper on the relevance of Tanzanian socialism deals *inter alia* with these topics, and reflects the wide interest there has been in recent years among the more sophisticated Papua New Guineans in Tanzania and its social and political philosophies. There can be no doubt that Papua New Guinea has much to learn here, and that a measure of such social planning would do much to retain the best and most stabilising features of Papua New Guinea life. But as Tanzania knows, planning of this magnitude is inclined to be hampered by human frailty. It is no easy task. Ideological impetus and a strong government are needed and of these there are only meagre signs in Papua New Guinea at present.

Since the papers were written the issue of secession has become more pronounced, particularly of the copper-rich island of Bougainville. As Anthony Clunies Ross says in his paper, one of the prevailing myths of the era of decolonisation is that big states are better than small ones. He argues cogently for providing legal and orderly scope for the operation of secession movements, as an alternative to submission or revolt, and cites the nowadays somewhat unsure East African Common Services Organisation as an example of a possible compromise, with the prospect of including in the management of common economic institutions, some of the neighbouring embryo nations of the South Pacific.

Alternative Strategies for Papua New Guinea is an important book, indeed a fascinating one to those who have seen the run-up to independence in other

countries and in Papua New Guinea, too. It is full of sound ideas, put in a logical and persuasive way. Though published first in 1973, it is very relevant today and should be at the bedside of all those concerned with the direction of Papua New Guinea's future.

J. T. A. PEARCE

Urbanisation as a Social Process, by KENNETH LITTLE; *Routledge and Kegan Paul* (*Library of Man*), London, 1974; pp. 153. £3.20 (Cloth Edition), £1.80 (Paperback)

The rich empirical flavour of Professor Little's book is probably its greatest asset. The particular combination of the indigenous and the exotic, the traditional and the modern, has served to make African Urbanisation distinctive, and if one is inclined to believe that cities in this immense continent are much the same as cities everywhere, the rich descriptions of Freetown, Dakar or Kampala may be sufficient to persuade one to the contrary. *Urbanisation as a social process* draws on Professor Little's long experience of Urban Africa and consists in parts of a pastiche of previous published work. However, such gems as the Upper Volta migrants' song "*qui n'a pas été à Kumasi, n'ira pas au Paradis*' certainly bear repetition. By returning to the hard facts of life in town Professor Little is quite successful in his avowed aim to cut through the conceptual and terminological clutter surrounding the study of urbanisation, while still using the extensive bibliography. The importance of migration is stressed, the "opportunistic undertones" of the movement to and from towns being well portrayed. This is reflected in attitudes to work and the growth of the urban labour force; Professor Little makes the significant observation that movement to the towns is not, on the whole, a product of rural landlessness as it was in Europe, and that this goes far to account for the distinctive attitudes to jobs in the city. Class is treated very much in terms of life-styles, and the conventional view that ethnic heterogeneity restricts class formation dominates Professor Little's approach. Elites are therefore of prominent interest, particularly in the treatment of race relations – one of the best chapters in the book. More general aspects of social organisation in the towns are dealt with mainly in the idiom of the individual's network of relationships. Urban voluntary associations, which have featured prominently in Professor Little's writing in the past, are described as important nodes in the integrative and adaptive patterns of urban growth.

In his conclusion, Professor Little points out that the extent of urbanisation in demographic terms is still quite small (fewer than one in ten Africans live in a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants) and that the rate of urbanisation in sociological terms is slow compared with equivalent processes in Europe. The continuities between town and countryside remain very strong. Regional and national differences make it difficult to speak generally of "African Urbanisation". It is for these reasons that Professor Little chooses to characterise urbanisation not as an accomplished fact but as a protracted process in which a number of specifically African features are discernible.

Some readers may feel that Professor Little's concern for empirical colour

does not do enough justice to the many important theoretical debates surrounding urbanisation and social change in the third world. For example, the city is not simply a focus for individual opportunity, it is a nexus of relationships of political and economic dependence extending from international markets and power centres to the rural village. However, urban anthropology is enjoying something of a boom at the moment and the conciseness and vividness of this book will make it a strong competitor against the recent studies by Aidan Southall and P. C. W. Gutkind.

A. F. ROBERTSON

Military Regimes in Africa, by W. F. GUTTERIDGE; *Methuen,* 1975; £3.50 (and in paperback)

This assessment of military governments in Africa reaches the conclusion that they do not constitute a separate political tradition. Indeed, in the majority of cases they seem to rely on the strength of the civilian bureaucracy. At times the author comes close to saying that the only distinctive feature of a military government is that it has a better chance of using coercive methods to establish austerity.

Although a welcome relief from explanations of why soldiers intervene in politics, these conclusions are unlikely to arouse a great deal of interest. Is there no more satisfactory way of defining the scope of the political which would enable some generalisations to be made? There seems to be at least one important paradox: military governments combine a concern to establish their legitimacy (p. 179) with an indifference to the use of ideology (p. 183). It would seem strange to call them all "pragmatic" (p. 175). But it looks as if it is necessary to assume that military action is simply the only method for achieving change in bureaucratic governments. The main colonial legacy is that there is little tradition in Africa for government by consent (p. 59).

William Gutteridge has in his own career covered the whole gamut of African military relationships. His first book in this field was published in 1962 while he was still at Sandhurst, after a study tour in the "year of independence", 1960-61. This work (his fourth, replacing his third, now out of print) belongs to the Methuen series of studies in African History (edited by Anthony Kirk-Greene) which already contains N. J. Miners on Nigeria and Robert Pinkney on Ghana. A third of this book also covers Nigeria and Ghana, but includes shorter "case studies" of Dahomey, Sudan, Uganda and Zaire.

If he had considered a broader treatment than this, would he have seen any alternative to the prospect of the perpetuation of bureaucratic government by force of arms? When he made fun of those who see "Western agents asserting neo-colonialist influence" (p. 176), he should perhaps have reflected on the degree to which the very subject he is studying was affected by the international order. He acknowledges that the absence of military intervention between 1960 and 1966 can be attributed largely to the colonial association of the armed forces which played "no positive role" (p. 6) in the achievement of independence. The soldiers needed time "to gain acceptance

as potentially legitimate leaders" (p. 5), but they possessed only fairly elementary administrative skills which made them able to execute a *coup* but not to govern unaided. It looks as if external support for military forces enabled the process of "gaining acceptance" to take on the character of becoming politicised. The book lacks any detailed reference to outside technical assistance.

Although strong on the fallacy of treating military factors in isolation, the author has not done much to push the subject out beyond the accounts of military intervention. To assess the performance of military regimes needs a little more analysis and perhaps above all, access to the evidence of action.

J. M. LEE

Law and Development – The Future of Law and Development Research; *International Legal Center, New York* and *Imqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm;* pp. 91

In 1972 the International Legal Center in New York asked a distinguished, international group of scholars to study the progress and problems of research on law and development. This report is the result.

For a number of years the ILC has shown a commendable interest in the role of law and lawyers in developing countries. In societies undergoing rapid, and in many cases, radical change, lawyers face major conceptual problems which transcend the narrow boundaries of their particular professional discipline. They need to be able to understand what is going on around them, and, unless they are venal or obtuse, they will want to find a way of enlisting their skill in the service of development. This means acquiring the capacity to identify problems in a changing society which have a legal dimension, and learning how to respond to them positively. Focusing on this situation a growing number of scholars have begun to concern themselves with "law and development", seeing it as a discrete, if elusive topic, on which serious interdisciplinary research should be encouraged.

The group called together by The International Legal Center were required by their terms of reference to:

(i) examine the current state of research on "law and development",

(ii) define the areas of intellectual activity most important to expand our understanding of this area (including general intellectual fields, such as "law and society"; specialised problem areas, such as taxation, urban development, family planning; geographical area studies, such as individual country or regional integration studies; studies of the international system in relation to the developing countries; comparative studies),

(iii) identify major research needs over the next ten years (including attention to different types of research – case studies, policy research, theoretical models),

(iv) specify major obstacles to filling these needs (including obstacles both internal and external to research, for example, the lack of research competence and the absence of demand for or effective use of research competence),

(v) formulate strategies (programs) for overcoming these obstacles and meeting these needs, having in mind the societal context, not only of law and development, but also of research itself.

The Report addresses itself to these and connected problems with diligence and a painstaking seriousness which deserves respect. However, it must be said that the result is disappointing. Far too much of the Report is concerned with arid questions of classification and methodology dealt with at a high level of abstraction. There is not nearly enough about what is actually happening. If the group had described in more detail the kind of research going on in developing countries and the use made of it, conclusions would have been easier to draw and the task of reading the Report less onerous.

R.B.

Book Notes

The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana, by MARTIN STANILAND; *Cambridge University Press,* 1975; maps, tables, glossary and index; pp. 241; £7.50

There are those who have deplored the role of the emergent politician in African Chiefdoms as the era of independence dawned and took shape, and the consequential troubles that modern-style politics created for traditional rulers. Certainly the move from the authority of an expatriate District Commissioner to that of the local politician often meant that the Chief was under a new and sharper local scrutiny. It also meant that a principally political control replaced a principally administrative superintendence, and that in local politics in which Chiefs and clearly those in North Ghana particularly so, had enjoyed the field to themselves, had to cope or come to terms with a new generation of non-chiefly aspirants who could play the political game better than they could.

In this admirably produced work of scholarship, Martin Staniland provides a case study of Ghana's Northern Kingdom of Dagbon straddling the colonial and immediate post-independence period. His understanding of British Colonial Administration is fair and perceptive. He agrees with Klein that "both the French and British governed indirectly inasmuch as they remained outside the societies they ruled, operating through and dependent on chiefs. But both governed directly insofar as they kept real power in their own hands". As the author points out indirect rule was "essentially an administrative strategy" which "did not lead to the development of a new and more integrated political structure".

To many readers special interest will be found in watching how traditional office proved sufficiently resilient to survive colonial, political party and military rule. This is an original work which should appeal to all sociologists and political scientists with a live interest in West Africa.

African Farmers in Rhodesia – old and new peasant communities in Karangaland, by A. K. H. WEINRICH; *Oxford University Press for the International African Institute;* illustrated, appendix, bibliography, index; pp. 342; £6.80

The author (Sister Mary Aquina) is a social anthropologist and her study is particularly concerned with the factors that make for success or failure by African farmers on Rhodesian agricultural development schemes. She has found, *inter alia:*

i. that irrigation schemes are not readily accepted by Rhodesia Africans. Although yields are markedly higher than dry farming produces, the encroachment on the individual's freedom by the Scheme Administration is found irksome;

ii. that the only satisfied peasant farmers are those in "Purchase Areas";

iii. the artificial preservation of tribal values under the guardianship of chiefs and tight control by the Ministry of Internal Affairs over all African development affairs, combine to inhibit African advancement – farmers on irrigation schemes have no say in the management and administration of their own affairs, a prerequisite for any real and lasting success;

iv. more agricultural training is needed. Experience shows that those who hold a Master Farmers' Certificate produce consistently more than those without this qualification;

v. the right to holdings based on beneficial occupation of the land should be enforced for black and white farmers alike.

The book includes a number of well-drawn thumbnail "profiles of peasant farmers".

For Their Triumphs and For Their Fears, by HILDA BERNSTEIN; *International Defence and Aid Fund, London;* illustrated, appendix; pp. 72; 50p

The author was a founder member of the multi-racial Federation of South African Women and she served on the Johannesburg City Council. In this small volume she sets out the grim story of women under Apartheid in South Africa, listing those who have been imprisoned, detained, banned and banished for their opposition to the Nationalist Government regime. Tables contrast the black/white employment figures in selected occupations (e.g. 1,118 white University women teachers, black eleven only). The ugly picture of apartheid is emphasised by the destruction of family life through the migrant labour system. It is right and proper that conditions which are intolerable by any civilised standards should receive the publicity that this volume affords.

Change in Administrative Structures, a Case Study of Kenyan Agricultural Development, by CHRISTOPHER TRAPMAN; *Overseas Development Institute, London;* tables and charts; pp. 100; £2.00

The author spent two years with the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya as a Technical Assistance expert in the Ministry's Planning Division. This small volume amounts to a report on his assignment.

He provides a lot of information, and his suggestions for improving departmental machinery so as to quicken the speed of agricultural development include: stronger farmer representation on the Central Agricultural Board, a system of decentralised Committees, recognition and acknowledgement of the different stages of advancement reached by different sectors of the farming community, modified and new approaches for dealing with small-scale farmers, the delegation of financial responsibility into the field and the need for involving the rural community in the decision-making process.

The report is, unfortunately, a dull one, the writing lacks style and the material is handled in much too disjointed and generalised a manner to make an effective impact on the reader. This is a pity as the field covered is an important one and the author obviously took considerable trouble in putting pen to paper.

Beyond the Sociology of Development – Economy and Society in Latin America and Africa; Eds. IVAR OXAAL, TONY BARNETT, DAVID BOOTH; *Routledge and Kegan Paul,* 1975; pp. 295; £6.95

£6.95 is rather a lot to pay for the dreary and arid academic theorising contained in the eleven papers comprising this volume. With the exception perhaps of Philip O'Brien, the contributors seem intent on fitting the situations they discuss into their own preconceived ideas. Progressive Hehe farmers were major grain producers long before Feldman discovered Ismani: the original motives for the Gezira Scheme are utterly irrelevant to what the scheme became after World War I and what the Sudanese are now making it through expansion and diversification: if Kenya settlers feared African coffee growers would deprive them of their labour (such smallholders were unlikely to have much effect, nor did they later), this was nothing compared with the fears of pilfering which were venomously expressed and even directed at the successful African Coffee growers on Kilimanjaro where the Co-operative Union had to threaten action for libel to stop the Kenya Press campaign.

This is all rather lightweight stuff. A defect of several authors is to tack on a quotation which happens to meet their need irrespective of the value of the source or the real substance of the remark quoted.

Britain and East Asia 1933-37, by ANN TROTTER; *Cambridge University Press,* 1975; maps, bobliography, index; pp. 277; £7.70

Allied with Britain in the First World War, Japan, to her cost, joined Hitler's Germany mid-way through the Second. This scholarly study examines a four year inter-war

period during which unsuccessful attempts were made to restore anglo-Japanese relations which had been damaged following the Manchurian incident (1931-33). It is of particular interest to find the Treasury where a strong Minister, Neville Chamberlain worked in close rapport with a powerful Permanent Secretary, Warren Fisher, having as great or even greater impact on Foreign Policy with Japan and China, than the Foreign Office itself. The Treasury line that Japan should not be appeased as China must win in the end must have seemed most improbable to FO eyes at the time – surprisingly perhaps the Treasury was supporting the right cause while the Foreign Office was backing the right horse.

Robber Nobleman – a study of the political system of the Sikh Jats, by JOYCE PETTIGREW; *Routledge and Kegan Paul, London;* bibliography and index; pp. 272; £5.95

Dr. Pettigrew pays high tribute to Professor Max Gluckman under whom she studied and who provides a very perceptive foreword to her book. This note is being written just as the death has been announced of Manchester's most distinguished anthropologist – a past contributor and reviewer for this Journal. Joyce Pettigrew, in this unusual and interesting study of the Sikh Jats of the Pubjab, shows herself to have been an apt pupil. She presents a detailed picture of the Jats – their all-important family life with its unusual wife-sharing – with-brothers practice, the lack of caste system, the system of patronage which need not necessarily be unjust, the Machiavellian skills of Partap S. Kairon, party boss and Chief Minister.

The shadow over the whole land of the five rivers which once formed a single integrated State lies in the partition which facilitated India and Pakistan's separate independence bringing to the sub-continent much bloodshed and much grief.

An Eastern Cadet's Anecdote, by ANDREW GILMOUR; *University Education Press, Singapore,* 1974; pp. 174; £4.00

This is a lightweight collection of reminiscences of the author's career in the Malayan Civil Service, which he joined in 1921. With no index to guide the outsider through the merry maze of personal names and nicknames, it is the insider who will derive most enjoyment from the fifty or more anecdotal experiences loosely strung together as, to quote the title of Chapter 10, "A Miscellany of Good Stories". Too modest a publication to seek a place among the classic Colonial Service memoirs, it does contain, beyond the cheery chitty-chattiness, a number of insights into the minutiae of life in the Malayan Civil Service useful to that distinguished Service's putative historian.

A Review of Current Banking Theory and Practice, by S. K. BASU; *MacMillan & Co., London;* pp. 460 incl. index; £5.95

This book, by the late Dr. S. K. Basu and revised by Mr. A. Ghosh, deals with the theory and practice of central and commercial banking. It covers a wide variety of matters and there are some comparisons between the UK, India and Commonwealth Africa. Events have moved rapidly since the publication of this book but it gives a useful background to the very fluid position we have now reached in both national and international monetary affairs.

Fiscal Federalism: Retrospect and Prospect (a) and **Fiscal Equalisation in a Federal System** (b); Ed. R. L. MATHEWS; *Centre for Research on Federal Financial Relations, Australian National University, Canberra;* (a) pp. 228; $A5.00; (b) appendix and bibliography; pp. 142; $A4.00

The first monograph contains ten papers, with an opening introduction and summary, and a final look into the future, by the Editor, Professor Mathews. The papers were first presented in May 1974 at a Conference held at Canberra and are placed here in four parts dealing with revenue sharing in federal systems, responsibility sharing, local and regional government, and the future of Australian federalism.

Among matters of significance to which attention is drawn are: (a) despite important changes, e.g. the transfer of the payroll tax from central to state government, in Western terms there has been little change, with over two-thirds of all state budgets being financed by grants or loans under central control; (b) the switch to specific purpose payments from general revenue grants from the centre to the states – in contrast to the USA where there is disenchantment with specific project grants; (c) not separation of functions, but inter-government (centre/state levels) co-operation was required (but views differed as to whether a distinction should be drawn between cost sharing and responsibility sharing); (d) the need for states to delegate more functions to local government bodies while retaining a co-ordinating role for themselves.

The second monograph contains six papers, three of them by the editor on: grants criteria for equalisation grants, fiscal equalisation grants (including references to Canada and the USA), theories of fiscal equalisation, regional inequalities and fiscal equalisation in India, implications of specific purpose grants, and fiscal equalisation for local government. In the paper on India D. R. Gerwal shows that in a developing country equalisation cannot be achieved by transfer of income but must also depend on development assistance aimed at equalising opportunities for growth. He also shows how this purpose can be incorporated in a system of development planning.

The Evolution of Local Government Areas in Metropolitan Auckland, 1840-1971, by G. T. BLOOMFIELD; *Auckland University Press: Oxford University Press,* 1973; xii, maps, diagrams; pp. 175

The foreword to this publication makes a reference to local government areas in large cities which no longer coincide with the social, economic, and physical realities of the metropolitan areas. It was of course this sort of problem which engendered the recent revision of local government boundaries in the United Kingdom, and to that extent, at least, city councillors and local government officials in Britain, who are currently dealing with situations caused by the recent reforms will know just what is involved when the attempt to rationalise is undertaken.

This work, which is perhaps too earnest to have "popular" appeal, will nevertheless, be of interest to students of New Zealand and any general readers who would like to know something of the administrative development of that country's largest city.

The Arms Trade with the Third World; Ed. JOHN STARES; *Penguin Books,* 1975; bibliography and index; pp. 362; £1.00

This paperback is an abridged version of a major study published by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in 1971. After surveying the problems and dangers of arming States and of involving the Third World in a possible East/West Confrontation, the conclusion is drawn that the most important element in lessening tensions and Third World arms racing would be USA/USSR agreement *not* to arm the Third World, albeit this would increase world military inequality.

Social and Labour Bulletin No. 1/74, *International Labour Office;* tables, statistics; annual subscription 20 Swiss francs; per issue 6 Sw. F.

This new ILO quarterly is described as an attempt "to disseminate factual information on new approaches to problems common to many countries" in the field of social and labour affairs.

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